THE CATHOLIC-PROTESTANT MIND

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THE CATHOLIC-PROTESTANT MIND

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The
CATHOLIC-PROTESTANT MIND

Some Aspects of Religious Liberty in the United States

By

1879-

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TO

THE MEMORY OF MY PARENTS

WHO FIRST TAUGHT ME THE AMERICAN DOCTRINE

OF THE SEPARATION OF CHURCH AND STATE

28889

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Introduction

THREE centuries ago Europe bequeathed its religious conflicts to the Western world. The free air of the American environment and the separation of church and state provided an excellent soil for the cultivation of Christian sectarianism. Hence the United States at present boasts over two hundred Christian groups, each a criticism of every other Christian body. But the main line of cleavage separates Roman Catholicism from Protestantism. There exists a Roman Catholic-Protestant mind.

A careful examination of the religious controversies of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, of "Know-nothingism" and the A P A of the nineteenth century, and of the K K K of the twentieth century reveals a deep-seated religious disease of which these movements have merely been symptoms. That disease is a fear, mounting at times to frenzy, that religious liberty may again surrender to medieval intolerance.

That the modern environment has been unable to discover either a prophylactic or a remedy for this wasting malady became evident during the recent

presidential campaign. That religion was an element in the decision of the electorate was evident. But to assume that either Roman Catholicism or Protestantism could decide the issue is to indulge in exaggeration. For only sixteen per cent of the population of the United States acknowledges connection with Roman Catholicism, some twenty-seven per cent with Protestantism, and only forty-seven per cent with organized religion. Some fifty-three per cent, or a majority of the population of the country, is not at all affiliated with religious organizations. Over 15,400,000 votes were cast for Governor Smith; over 21,900,000 for Mr. Hoover. Regarding 37,000,000 as the approximate number of votes cast, the distribution would be, on the unwarranted assumption that Roman Catholicism voted solidly for the Democratic candidate and Protestantism for the Republican candidate, that Mr. Smith received 5,900,000 votes from Roman Catholics and Mr. Hoover received 9,950,000 votes from Protestants, leaving the votes of over 21,000,000 persons unaffiliated with Christianity to be assigned to the two principal candidates. At least nine millions unaffiliated with Roman Catholicism voted for Mr. Smith and at least eleven million unaffiliated with Protestant churches voted for Mr. Hoover.

Why do religious suspicion, hatred, and fear per-

sist in the United States? Why does Roman Catholicism fear the Protestant spirit? Why does Protestantism fear the Roman Catholic organization? What can be done to allay these intense religious emotions and convictions?

A chief reason for the survival of these religious antagonisms is the failure of the developmental hypothesis to penetrate to the common level of American thought. The great majority among us act as if they truly believe that medieval Roman Catholicism and modern Roman Catholicism are identical. The variations of Protestantism are apparent to all. The taunt of Bossuet is remembered: "Have you not changed; therefore, you are not truth, because the truth is one and immutable." What is not so clearly discerned is that Roman Catholicism is by no means homogeneous. Roman Catholic scholarship has been in disagreement upon many questions. The history of the Roman Catholic Church is so complicated that any decision of value must be rendered by an expert. And it usually reads like the findings of the United States Supreme Court in an involved case. Authority upon authority is cited until the ordinary man is completely bewildered. To assume that the average Roman Catholic layman knows the history of the Roman Catholic Church is to assume that the average citizen of the United States could tell what

the Monroe Doctrine is all about. To ascribe solidarity of feeling and opinion to the Roman Catholic hierarchy, not to refer to the laity of that church, is to be blind to the record of history.

This strange conclusion that Roman Catholicism has always and everywhere been the same is at the bottom of much of the Protestant distrust of Roman Catholicism. For the argument runs that since Roman Catholicism has been both a form of government and a form of worship, it must be these same two things in the same way today.

A study of this delusion of an unchanging church should destroy this naïveté.

Another reason for the existence of the Roman Catholic-Protestant mind is the lack of proper perspective and of an historical point of view. Religious ant-hills are too often converted into theological Matterhorns. When the noise of the theological heavy artillery is silenced, the gunners are sometimes at a loss to explain to a wondering public why there should have been any cannonading at all. "Sometimes we fight for a symbol when we should fight for the substance; as ere now in campaigns of our countrymen, a regiment has lost a victory by a useless strife to save the colors. Are we not liable to do the same—to remember the banner but forget the battle?" "The sphere of the church's magisterium is now restricted

to faith and morals. . . . But the medieval papacy took with a high hand what the modern takes surreptitiously: the latter frames syllogisms; the former laid down and enforced law." [1]

By telling the story of how the pope became king, of the meaning of the wars of religion, and of the loss of temporal power worthy of the name by the papacy, a proper background will be constructed for the appreciation of what has happened to medieval papal claims in the modern environment. Nothing indicates the changing nature of the papacy more clearly than its constant compromise with shifting political theory.

The modern world needs information on the verdict that history has rendered on the question of the relation of church and state. The simple story of how the papacy gained and lost real temporal power should enable one to form a saner judgment upon the issues which present themselves today. The revival of learning, Protestantism, nationalism, scientific method, the wars of religion, the spread of the democratic spirit, and especially the American political theory known as separation of church and state, have so circumscribed the medieval aspirations of the papacy as to postpone their realization for a longer

[1] Hastings' Encyclopedia of Religion and Ethics, vol. IX, p. 624.

period than the five thousand years predicted by Roman Catholic optimists.

From this point of view the development of religious liberty in the United States and the practical problems of the solidarity of American Roman Catholicism, the educational significance of the parochial school, and the recent growth of Roman Catholicism among us may be studied with profit.

America's contribution to political theory has been the proclamation and enforcement of the doctrine of the separation of church and state. We propose to show how that hypothesis has been incorporated in the federal constitution and in each constitution of the separate forty-eight states of the American union. Indeed, the final chapter in this romance is the noble defense of the American principle by more than one noted archbishop of the Roman Catholic hierarchy.

Heroic efforts are being made to transmit the Roman Catholic point of view to the oncoming generations through the maintenance of parish and higher Roman Catholic schools. Will the Roman Catholic educational system at all be able to compete with public education or is it doomed to disintegration? Is the non-Roman Catholic population of the United States increasing its rate of acceleration? Will this continue to be the case? Is the slight relative decrease in number of enrolled Catholics being accom-

panied by a rapid loosening of religious control? Our investigation desires to present the actual facts in the modern religious situation in the United States.

Finally, the protection afforded religious liberty by the general Western environment will be noticed. The historian of Christianity is accustomed to recognize three principal periods, namely, Ancient Christianity, Medieval Christianity, and Modern Christianity. But this is just another way of stating that Christianity has been subject to environmental influences. The modern point of view may not be neglected without penalty in any adequate appraisal of the relation between church and state. A brief description of the new world that has been brought to birth during the last four centuries should prove helpful in disposing of the question whether medieval assumptions will regulate on a large scale the thought and action of the twentieth century man and woman. The medieval Christian architect placed the cross upon the steeples of churches to ward off the lightning; his modern descendant protects the cross by a lightning rod. Has the medieval point of view vanished beyond recall? If it has, can the medieval theory of the relation of church and state be resuscitated in the modern Western world?

The citizenry of the United States will face its religious future more calmly as it becomes ac-

quainted with the history of its religious past. No amount of scolding or of ridicule will remove the fear of a revival of the medieval religious conflict. If we desire religious peace, we must grow confidence in the soil of familiarity with the modern age.

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CHAPTER ONE

"Always, Everywhere, the Same"

CHRISTIANITY is by its nature exclusive. Ancient Christianity refused to compromise with existing religions. It affirmed that only one God, the Christian God, exists. It undermined the foundation of the Roman Empire by denying that the emperor was a god. It would not bow in reverence before the statues of the gods that had made Rome glorious. The Roman gods were described as dumb and rotting, without souls, without feeling, motionless, impotent. The only genuine religion is Christianity—this was the challenge presented to noble Romans by the lowly members of a despised and insignificant sect.

Moreover, the early Christians were not lacking in self-consciousness; "what the soul is to the body, that the Christians are to the world." Christians sustain the world. "The heavenly city, or rather that part of it which sojourns on the earth and lives by faith, makes use of this peace only because it must until this mortal condition which necessitates it shall

pass away. Consequently, so long as it lives like a captive and stranger in the earthly city, it makes no scruple to obey the laws of the earthly city." [1] Christians dwell in the world but are not of the world.

This deep-seated conviction of exclusiveness, superiority, and uniqueness has continued to characterize Christianity throughout its history. There are more than two hundred Christian groups in the United States at the present moment. These Christian bodies vary from twenty-five to some twenty millions in number. And each representative of Christianity, whether tiny sect or militant denomination, regards itself as in possession of some extraordinary deposit of the faith and exists to defend the faith, "once for all delivered to the saints."

In 1926 the Primitive Friends reported a country-wide membership of twenty-five. Yet they still had a mission to the world; the maintenance of the ancient testimonies of the Society of Friends. The Plymouth Brethren VI with only eighty-eight recorded members loudly proclaim that "the proper hope of God's people is not the improvement of the world but the coming of Christ for His own to raise the dead in Christ and change the living, and then take them all out of the world which He will then purge by judgment preparatory to the millennium, when

[1] Augustine, *The City of God,* Book XIX, 17.

Israel and the nations of the earth will inhabit it under His rule, but His church will be always in Heaven." [2] Likewise, the Six Principle Baptists with a total membership of two hundred ninety-three select Hebrews 6:1, 2 as the gospel and therefore emphasize repentance, faith, baptism, laying on of hands, the resurrection of the dead, and the eternal judgment as the six fundamentals of Christianity. In the same manner the Old Order of Amish Mennonites makes much of hooks and eyes in place of buttons. To continue the enumeration of "distinctive principles" would yield a grand total of over two hundred very different, but very final interpretations of Christianity.

Most of these Christian bodies are of recent origin, since Protestantism emerged in the sixteenth century. Now if each weak and late Protestant arrival contains an element of exclusiveness, exceptional exclusiveness should be anticipated in case of Roman Catholicism. For it continues to claim nearly fifty per cent of the Christian population of the world. It reports about sixteen per cent of the population of the United States as enrolled in its churches. It assigns its origin to A.D. 33. It looks back upon an existence of 1895 years. With the exception of Judaism, Roman Catholicism is the oldest living re-

[2] Religious Census, United States, 1916, vol. II, p. 168.

ligion of the Western world. It has inherited a number of convictions from its long ancestry. It regards itself as the custodian of Christian tradition and the regulator of the Christian faith. It is the only church founded by Christ. It alone can guarantee its dogmas to be apostolic. It alone is organized in accordance with the will of Christ under one chief shepherd. It alone has holy doctrine, holy saints, holy life. It alone exists in all nations, contains all truth, and continues for all time. Only its mission is apostolic. Only its doctrine is apostolic. Only its hierarchy is apostolic. And the capstone of all its claims is the feeling that the Roman Catholic Church has always and everywhere been the same.

In reality, Roman Catholicism has been continuously modified by the changing Western environment. This is the fate of all religion, and Roman Catholicism has not proved an exception to this universal law. Geography, physical need, population, and culture are everlastingly reacting upon religion. The mere cataloguing of the variations of Roman Catholicism would require a volume. For seventeen centuries Romanism opposed the taking of interest only finally to yield to the modern capitalistic development. Some bishop of Rome accepted Montanism only later to veto his approval. In the authoritative Catholic Encyclopedia we read concerning Pope Mar-

cellinus, "There were even later reports in circulation that accused him of having given up the sacred books after the first edict [of Diocletian] or even of having offered incense to the gods, to protect himself from the persecution." Jerome tells us that Pope Liberius banished to Thrace was "overcome by the weariness of exile and embraced the heretical perversity" of Arianism. Pope "Vigilius is said to have agreed to the plans of intriguing empress [Theodora of Constantinople] who promised him the papal see and a large sum of money [700 pounds of gold]."[3] After Innocent I and Gelasius I had sent infants, who died without receiving communion, straight to hell, the Council of Trent declared, "if anyone saith, that the communion of the eucharist is necessary for little children, before they have arrived at years of discretion: let him be anathema." The dogma of the immaculate conception of Mary has not canceled the celebration annually of the day of the purification of the Virgin for having been the mother of Jesus. For centuries mothers defiled by childbirth had to be readmitted to church. Today that ancient ceremony is associated with the blessing of women who have become mothers.[4] Pope

[3] Catholic Encyclopedia, vol. IX, p. 638; vol. XV, p. 427.

[4] Duchesne, *Christian Worship*, p. 531, Par. 93-97, 100; Catholic Encyclopedia, vol. III, p. 761; *The Old Catholic Missal and Ritual*, p. 273; *Sarum Missal*, p. 165.

Eugene III one day received a letter from Bernard of Clairvaux in which that saint expressed the hope that God might grant him to see before he died "the church of God as in the days of old when Apostles let down their nets for a draught, not of silver and gold, but of souls." [5] At one time heresy dissolved the bond of matrimony. Innocent III annulled that practice. Baptism is a sacrament which removes original sin and in case of necessity an atheist, a Jew, or a heretic may validly perform it. Marriage is indissoluble but the pope or Rota may discover diriment impediments which deny the existence of a marriage of many years' duration. In 1059 Pope Nicholas II affirmed the doctrine now rejected that "Christ's body is sensibly touched by the hands and broken by the teeth in the eucharist." [6] On occasion the Franciscan ideal of poverty has been identified with the pattern of Christ and again has been declared "heretical and hostile to the Catholic faith." Both realism and nominalism, strange bedfellows, have been taught by Roman Catholic scholars. Abélard may not be equated with Lombard. The flatness and stationary character of the earth finally surrendered to the hypothesis of its sphericity. The Council of Trent established Jerome's text of the

[5] Catholic Encyclopedia, vol. V, p. 599.
[6] Janus, *Pope and the Council*, p. 55.

Bible as authentic. Pope Sixtus V in 1590 published this pure and authentic text of the Bible. "His Bull declared that this edition, corrected by his own hand, must be received and used by everybody as the only true and genuine one, under pain of excommunication, every change, even of a single word, being forbidden under anathema." Those using the Sistine text of the Bible noticed its numerous errors, "some two thousand of them introduced by the pope himself." Hence in 1592, Pope Clement VIII substituted a new text of which "no word may be altered and whereof no variants may be printed." But in our own day a papal commission was appointed to "find or restore the original text as it came from the hands of Jerome." Yet Jerome testifies to the woeful state of the Latin text of his day in these words: "If we are to pin our faith to the Latin texts, it is for our opponents to tell us which; for there are almost as many forms of texts as there are copies." [7] Pope Paul III allowed the Jesuit order to form, Pope Clement XIV abolished it, while Pope Pius VII re-established it. Throughout the medieval period each day of the first chapter of Genesis was composed of twenty-four hours of sixty minutes. The Thomists regarded the universe as eternal; the Scotists denied the eternity of the universe since otherwise material-

[7] *Ibid*, p. 62, and Moehlman, *The Unknown Bible*, p. 70.

ism would gain ground. Roman Catholic scholarship lets God verify predestination by considering the merits of men and also without taking these into account. In the one case God becomes finite; in the other, arbitrary and unjust.[8] It is freely admitted that the Roman liturgy has widely varied. The "fluid rite" of the first three centuries has vanished. The African rite is no longer used. The Roman rite was fused with the Gallican ceremony.[9] There are various systems of reckoning the general councils. Consult an official list of the popes. At twenty-one places the papal line is in dispute with two, three, and even five popes mentioned as claiming the succession.[10] Words like "Gallicanism" and "Americanism" imply that the Roman Catholicisms of France and America differ from that of Italy.

In spite of uncounted variations, Roman Catholicism by constant reiteration of its unchanging nature has succeeded in convincing many in the modern world that it is the same today as it was yesterday. Four axioms associated with this abiding nature of Roman Catholicism are the unity of the Roman Catholic Church; the primacy of the bishop of Rome; the

[8] S. Edgar, *Variations of Popery.*

[9] Encyclopædia Britannica, vol. XVI, p. 795 ff; Duchesne, *Christian Worship,* Chapter 5 ff.

[10] Catholic Encyclopedia, vol. XII, p. 273 f.

temporal power of the papacy; and the secondary position of the state.

Pope Pius XI not long ago issued an encyclical[11] on "The Promotion of True Religious Unity" in which he says: "The unity of Christians cannot be otherwise obtained than by securing the return of the separated to the one true church of Christ, from which they once unhappily withdrew, standing forth before all and which by the will of its Founder will remain forever the same as when He Himself established it for the salvation of all mankind. . . . In the one Church of Christ no one is found and no one perseveres in it unless he recognizes and accepts obediently the supreme authority of St. Peter and his legitimate successors. . . . Let them return to the common Father of all; He has forgotten the unjust wrongs inflicted against the Holy See and will receive them most lovingly. If, as they repeat, they desire to be united with Us and Ours, why do they not hasten to return to their Church, 'the mother and mistress of all the followers of Christ'?"

The primacy of the bishop of Rome rests upon the assumption that Christ gave supreme power over the church to Peter. Peter was given, it is alleged, the keys of the kingdom of heaven in a special manner. He ruled the apostles. He became bishop of

[11] January 6, 1928; see *Current History*, March, 1928, p. 7.

Rome and bequeathed his primary rank to the bishops of Rome. The foundation of the church consists of Peter with Christ. The care of all the sheep was entrusted to him. The head of the church from whom all the gifts of Christ flow is Peter. Very naturally Rome, the capital of the world, fell to Peter who passed on his prerogatives to the bishops of the church of Rome. Hence the pope now reigning possesses Peter's plenitude of power.

This Roman Catholic hypothesis is seriously questioned by the modern historian. Jesus did not organize a church. The church developed later as a natural consequence from the cohesion of the group that formed about Jesus.

Further, the authenticity of Matthew 16:17-19 is not admitted. That section is not found in the corresponding passages in Mark or Luke. The confession of Peter is common material. The gloss appears only in Matthew. The history of the primitive Christian church cannot be explained with that statement in the background. "It is inconceivable that a saying of Christ so central as the medieval theory of the papacy makes this should have been left unrecorded by three out of the four evangelists; that it should have been omitted by two (one of them the Petrine evangelist, Mark) of the three who narrate the incident out of which it is said to have arisen; and

that no reference should have been made to it by any other New Testament writers, in particular by Paul."[12]

But waiving such considerations, the Roman Catholic interpretation is not necessary. The statement of Jesus might apply to the confession of Peter as well as to his person. The authority confessed might be regarded as moral and spiritual rather than as ecclesiastical. The thought of a permanent conferment of power is totally lacking. And as far as the transmission of such power to endless succeeding bishops of Rome is concerned, Jesus was not thinking in terms of an endless realm of God on earth to say nothing of the impossible psychology whereby a preacher of righteousness is transformed into the supreme spiritual and ecclesiastical autocrat of all time. The historian also asks for some evidence of the Roman bishopric of Peter. The earliest Christian literature including the Petrine correspondence knows naught of a primacy of Peter. James not Peter presided at the Jerusalem meeting. Paul not only regarded himself as apostle to the Gentiles as Peter was apostle to Judaism but at Antioch rebuked Peter openly—"If you live like the Gentiles and not like the Jews, though you are a Jew yourself, why do

[12] Alfred Fawkes in Hastings' Encyclopedia of Religion and Ethics, vol. IX, p. 621.

you oblige the Gentiles to become Jews?" [13] "If there was any primacy at this time, it was the primacy not of Peter but of Paul." Matthew 16:18, John 21:15-18, and Luke 22:32 can never be made elastic enough to cover Roman Catholic assumptions. These passages became papal proof-texts at a much later date.

From the Roman Catholic point of view the matter is of such significance that Archbishop Peter Richard Kenrick's verdict should be quoted. In a brave speech "prepared for speaking but not spoken in the Vatican Council" in 1870, the then archbishop of St. Louis in the United States of America quoted from Radbert, "Not on Peter only, but on all the apostles and their successors, is built the Church of God" and thereupon wrote: "In a remarkable pamphlet 'printed in fac-simile of manuscript' and presented to the fathers two months ago, we find five different interpretations of the word *rock* in the place cited; 'the first of which declares that the church was built on Peter; and this interpretation is followed by seventeen fathers. . . . The second interpretation understands these words, On this rock will I build my church, that the church was built on *all* the apostles, whom Peter represented by virtue of the primacy. And this opinion is followed by eight fathers. . . . The

[13] Galatians 2:14, Moffatt's Translation.

third interpretation asserts that the words, on this rock, etc., are to be understood of the *faith* which Peter had professed, that this faith, this profession of faith, by which we believe Christ to be the Son of the living God, is the everlasting and immovable foundation of the church. This interpretation is the weightiest of all, since it is followed by forty-four fathers and doctors; among them, from the East, are Gregory of Nyssa, Cyril of Alexandria, Chrysostom, and Theophylact; from the West, Hilary, Ambrose, Leo the Great; from Africa, Augustine. . . . The fourth interpretation declares the words, on this rock, etc., to be understood of that rock which Peter had confessed, that is, Christ, that the church was built upon Christ. This interpretation is followed by sixteen fathers and doctors. . . . The fifth interpretation of the fathers understands by the name, the *rock,* the *faithful themselves,* who believing Christ to be the Son of God, are constituted living stones, out of which the church is built.' "

The venerable archbishop summarized his argument, as follows: "We have in the Holy Scriptures perfectly clear testimonies of a commission given to all the apostles and of the divine assistance promised to all. These passages are clear and admit no variation of meaning. We have not even one single passage of Scripture, the meaning of which is undis-

puted, in which anything of the kind is promised to Peter separately from the rest. And yet the authors of the *scheme* want us to assert that to the Roman pontiff as Peter's successor is given that power which cannot be proved by any clear evidence of holy scripture to have been given to Peter himself except just so far as he received it in common with the other apostles." [14]

The historical evolution of the hierarchy consisted in the clergy being marked off from the laity by garb, ordination, tonsure, celibacy, securing power over marriages and testaments, and in the accumulation of further special privileges. Within the clerical group distinctions of rank arose which finally issued in the formation of major and minor orders. As the original democratic and presbyterial government of the Christian church succumbed to the more efficient monarchical episcopate, the bishops became the real units of power. They elected their fellow bishops and the higher and lower administrative officers of the church. They reserved ordination and voted at synods and councils. The bishop of Rome came to greater and greater prominence. For Rome was the eternal city and the capital of the empire. The Roman church exhibited a fine charity and was always interested in coöperating with churches requir-

[14] L. W. Bacon, *The Vatican Council*, pp. 107 f, 119.

ing assistance. Again and again, the Roman bishop displayed excellent Christian statesmanship in adjusting controversies within Christianity and also in mediating between church and state. When the Emperor Constantine moved the capital of the Roman Empire to Constantinople, he paved the way for the supremacy of the bishop of Rome.

After Constantine had removed to Byzantium the "Petrine legend was accentuated and the prerogative of Rome placed upon a singular and incommunicable foundation—the succession of the Christian Dioscuri, Peter and Paul. It is one of the ironies of history that it is in a Gnostic source—the pseudo-Clementine Homilies—that this tradition is found in its most explicit form. *Thus was the organization of the world-church, modelled, in fact, upon that of the world-state, referred to a divine sanction.* . . . 'In its old age,' says Sohm, 'the Roman empire bequeathed its constitution to the young church. . . . It was its last great legacy to the future!' " [15]

Hobbes in his *Leviathan* was of the same opinion, "If a man consider the originall of this great Ecclesiasticall Dominion, he will easily perceive that the Papacy is no other than the Ghost of the deceased Roman Empire, sitting crowned upon the grave there-

[15] Hastings' Encyclopedia of Religion and Ethics, vol. IX, p. 621.

of. For so did the Papacy start up on a sudden out of the Ruines of that Heathen Power."

The solidarity of the West under the bishop of Rome was often in evidence against the indecision and vacillation of the East. The emperors themselves helped build the power of the medieval papacy. When such a forceful and resourceful man as Leo I was elected bishop of Rome, it became true *Roma locuta est, causa finita est.*

Yet several centuries had to intervene ere the papacy began to exercise temporal sway and loudly to proclaim the superiority of the spiritual sword over the secular sword. In the closing years of the eleventh century the *Dictatus Papæ* put in an appearance. Among its axioms are these: "The pope alone may use the imperial insignia; all persons shall kiss the foot of the pope alone; the pope has the power to depose emperors; his decree can be annulled by no one; he can annul the decrees of anyone; he can be judged by no one; the Roman church has never erred, according to the testimony of the holy scriptures; by the pope's command or permission subjects may accuse their rulers; he has the power to absolve subjects from their oath of fidelity to wicked rulers." [16] Thereupon, John of Salisbury in his *Policraticus* as-

[16] Thatcher-McNeal, *A Source Book for Medieval History*, p. 136 f.

serted that all authority both secular and spiritual belongs to the priesthood. For the two swords referred to in the New Testament were in the possession of the apostles, that is, they were within the Christian church. Hence, the princes, kings, and emperors received their right to reign from the church.

The modern world regards such claims as these as anachronisms. But up and down the valleys of the twentieth century there still reverberate the dying echoes of papal hope. Unfortunately too many still fear that the medieval corpse of temporal power may be resuscitated. For popes and churchmen insist upon repeating and repeating that the age that was still is. Thus Pope Leo XIII declared that the "authority of the Church is the most exalted of all authority, nor can it be looked upon as inferior to the civil power or dependent upon it," while an able Roman Catholic scholar formulates the union of church and state as requiring that "the state should officially recognize the Catholic religion as the religion of the commonwealth; accordingly it should invite the blessing and the ceremonial participation of the Church for certain important public functions as the opening of legislative sessions, the erection of public buildings . . . and delegate its officials to attend certain of

the more important festival celebrations of the Church; it should recognize and sanction the laws of the Church; it should protect the rights of the Church, and the religious as well as the other rights of the Church's members." Dissenters should under any circumstances be permitted to practice their religion within the family or in such ways as not "to be the occasion either of scandal or of perversion to the faithful. [For] if there is only one true religion . . . the public promotion of this religion becomes one of the fundamental duties of the State." [17]

In an article printed in *Current History* for March, 1928, the same authority with utter frankness, writes, "it is the duty of all Catholics to endeavor to bring all civil society within the fold of Catholic Christianity. To be sure that is our position." [18]

The Paulist Fathers teach that "the temporal power of the pope is necessary for the perfect freedom and independence of the Holy See . . . this independence cannot be had to the full unless he possesses a territory—large or small, it matters not—which is entirely his own." [19]

The *Manual of Christian Doctrine* states that "the state should aid, protect, and defend the church . . . has the right and duty to proscribe schism or heresy

[17] Ryan and Millar, *The State and the Church*, p. 34.
[18] P. 781. [19] *Question Box*, p. 300.

. . . may not separate itself from the Roman Church." [20]

Because of the shibboleth of the "unchanging church" and the fears that still linger from the period of the wars of religion, this oft-expressed purpose of modern Catholicism to romanize the world alarms multitudes of patriotic Americans and occasionally even discerning European students of political science. One of these, for example, referred to the problem in these words: "The constitution of the United States takes no cognizance of the relations between church and state; and, under the protection of religious liberty, Roman Catholicism in that country has grown into considerable power. Yet no one will indulge the illusion that the Catholics, should they ever obtain a majority in congress, would extend to the Protestants the same toleration which they themselves now enjoy; for the very principle of the Roman Catholic Church is to persecute as soon as she can do so, that which she conceives to be error. If, therefore, Roman Catholic ascendency were threatened, the people would be forced, in spite of the silence of the constitution, to occupy themselves with church questions." [21]

Such political philosophy as the following does not

[20] C. C. Marshall, *The Roman Catholic Church in the Modern State,* p. 268.

[21] Geffcken, *Church and State,* I, p. 7 f.

allay this dread: "But constitutions can be changed, and non-Catholic sects may decline to such a point that the political proscription of them may become feasible and expedient. What protection would they then have against a Catholic state? The latter could logically tolerate only such religious activities as were confined to the members of the dissenting group. It could not permit them to carry on general propaganda nor accord their organization certain privileges that formerly had been extended to all religious corporations, for example, exemption from taxation." [22]

On the other hand, one recovers his balance and sense of humor on observing that Roman Catholic laymen know little about the pronouncements of pope or bishop and do not feel bound by them. Else one of them would not have courageously written, "I believe in the absolute freedom of conscience for all men and in the equality of all churches, all sects, and all beliefs before the law as a matter of right and not as a matter of favor." [23]

Probably also the American mind should learn to discriminate between Roman Catholic theory and practice, to appreciate that a pope may be writing only historically, and to understand that a Roman Catholic scholar may be presenting the case logically. The

[22] Ryan and Millar, *The State and the Church,* p. 38.
[23] Governor Smith in *Atlantic Monthly,* May, 1927, p. 721 ff.

Church historically and logically and theoretically may be compelled to take an attitude which is in fact exceedingly remote of realization. The excitement of the American mind must have been the occasion of many a laugh within Roman Catholic circles. For example, after everyone is wrought up because he beholds religious liberty vanishing, the Roman Catholic authority on church and state continues: "While all this is very true in logic and in theory, the event of its practical realization in any state or country is so remote in time and in probability that no practical man will let it disturb his equanimity or affect his attitude toward those who differ from him in religious faith. It is true, indeed, that some zealots and bigots will continue to attack the church because they fear that some 5000 years hence the United States may become overwhelmingly Catholic and may then restrict the freedom of non-Catholic denominations." [24]

[24] Ryan and Millar, *The State and the Church*, p. 38.

CHAPTER TWO

"Long Live the Pope-King"

As the bells of Manhattan were striking the midnight hour, one night in January, 1922, Benedict XV died. A cardinal approached the death-bed of the pope and, calling his baptismal name, struck the head of the pope three times with a silver mallet. The fisherman's ring and the papal seals were broken. For nine days the obsequies continued. Meanwhile carpenters and masons began to wall off several floors of the Vatican palace. The enclosure was divided into apartments of three or four cells each to be occupied by the cardinals who were to elect the new pope. A crucifix was placed in each cell. A single door locked on both the outside and the inside was the only means of access to the cardinals under lock and key. All meals during the conclave were in private. After the appointment of necessary attendants, all was in readiness for the opening of the conclave early in February. The American delegates did not arrive in time. After a ubiquitous photographer had been discovered and

ejected, the balloting began. Two votes were taken daily; one in the morning, the other in the evening. A two-thirds vote is necessary to elect a pope as also to nominate the presidential candidate of the Democratic party. Until that vote is given to some candidate, the used ballots and a bit of straw are burned in order that the waiting people may be notified that no election has occurred. In theory a layman may be elected pope. In theory even a married man may be elected pope. What the cardinals were really doing was to elect a new bishop of Rome who thereby would become the chief pastor of the church of God. And in theory they are the members of the church at Rome electing their own bishop. When the cardinals cast their ballots for the new pope, they are merely benevolently guiding the decision of the members of the Roman church whose right it is to elect their own bishop.

On Monday, February the sixth, the cardinals' choice fell upon Achille Ratti. He manifested his willingness to fill the office of pope, taking the new name of Pius XI. Shortly thereafter, clothed in papal robes, he received the first homage of the cardinals. The fisherman's ring soon graced his hand. The people were told of the election, and the conclave was dissolved. Next day two further adorations of His Holiness the Pope took place, and the

governments of the world were informed of his election. On the following Sunday, February the twelfth, the coronation was celebrated in St. Peter's. The dean of the cardinal deacons put the tiara with the triple crown upon the head of Pius XI, and his reign began.

Had this ceremony been engaged in prior to the ninth century, no crown would have been employed. In the fourteenth century Pope Boniface VIII added a second crown. Later in the same century the third crown appeared. Nobody knows precisely what these royal diadems signify. When the newly-crowned pope was greeted with "long live the pope-king," the medieval faith was proclaimed in the twentieth century world. And the pope's official title reveals the glory that was Rome. "His Holiness the Pope, Bishop of Rome and Vicar of Jesus Christ, Successor of St. Peter, Prince of the Apostles, Supreme pontiff of the Universal Church, Patriarch of the West, Primate of Italy, Archbishop and Metropolitan of the Roman Province, Sovereign of the Temporal Dominions of the Holy Roman Church, Pius XI, Achille Ratti, Now Gloriously Reigning." [1]

How did the pope become king?

Early in the fourth century of the Christian era, the Emperor Constantine recognized Christianity as

[1] The Official Catholic Directory, 1928, p. 1.

a legal religion. The free and unconditioned practice of the Christian worship was therefore constitutional and Christian propaganda was the more vigorously promoted. Christianity rapidly became the religious basis of the Roman Empire and toward the end of the fourth century the orthodox Catholic imperial church was established. Before the beginning of the next century the observance of the ancient Roman worship was made a criminal offense, while early in the sixth century the Emperor Justinian ordered all pagans to receive Christian baptism or suffer exile and confiscation of their property.

The Germans were overrunning the Roman Empire. In 410 Alaric sacked Rome. In eight centuries such a catastrophe had not befallen the Eternal City. This climax to the numerous disasters afflicting the empire caused distinguished citizens to hint and openly maintain that the old Roman gods were taking vengeance because their worship was being neglected and the ancient landmarks were being removed. In Christian days Rome has been ravaged—that was the new taunt Christians were compelled to hear. One of them brooded over the accusation for a decade and a half and thereupon made public an apology for Christianity in a classic known as *The City of God.*

Augustine discovered two cities in this world—the

city of God and the earthly city. The former began with the creation of light; the latter with the sin of Satan and the murder of Abel. The city of this earth was continued in Cain, the various empires and kingdoms, and finally in the Roman Empire. The state was not only not original and primary but resulted from sin. As the murderer Cain had built the first city, so the murderer Romulus had built Rome. Sin and misery accompany the state in its development. Destruction is its end. Augustine wonders whether justice can dwell in the state. "Justice being taken away, then, what are kingdoms but great robberies? For what are robberies themselves but little kingdoms? The robber band itself is made up of men; it is ruled by the authority of the prince, it is knit together by the fact of the confederacy; the booty is divided by the law agreed upon. If, by the admittance of abandoned men, this evil increases to such a degree that it holds places, fixes abodes, takes possession of cities, and subdues peoples, it assumes the more plainly the name of Kingdom." [2] Yet in the world that is, the state is natural and necessary. For orderly government is to be preferred to anarchy. "The powers that be are ordained of God."

But the state may attain to true justice only by dependence upon the city of God, the Christian church.

[2] Augustine, *The City of God*, Book IV, 3, 4.

"True justice has no existence save in that republic whose founder and ruler is Christ." Hence the spiritual sword is above the temporal sword.

And Augustine did not shrink from taking the next step. He advocated the employment of coercion on the part of the church and the state to compel heretics and schismatics to separate themselves from their errors and reënter the orthodox church. This suggestion bears much of the blame for subsequent ecclesiastical autocracy, intolerance, and inquisition. "Wherefore, if the power which the Church has received by divine appointment in its due season, through the religious character and the faith of kings be the instrument by which those who are found in the highways and hedges—that is, in heresies and schisms—are compelled to come in, then let them not find fault with being compelled. . . . Forcible rescue from death is merciful. . . . But they wonder that Christian princes are raised against detestable scatterers of the Church. Should they not be moved? How otherwise should they give an account of their rule to God? Observe, beloved, what I say, that it concerns Christian kings of this world to wish their mother, the Church, of which they have been spiritually born, to have peace in their times." [3]

[3] Augustine, Epistle 185, VI, VIII; XI Tractate on John, 13, 14.

It was in 494 that Pope Gelasius addressed an epistle to the Eastern emperor in which he pointed out that "there are two by whom principally this world is ruled: the sacred authority of the pontiffs and the royal power. Of these the importance of the priests is so much greater as even for the kings of men they will have to give an account in the divine judgment."[4] Apparently the world was regarded as a unity, as consisting of one society, composed of clerics and laymen, in which pontiffs and kings held sway. There were not two perfect societies but one society in which all men were members and whose functions were spiritual and secular. The balance of power in this universal society proved to be a bone of contention and shifted from imperium to sacerdotium.

This shift is well illustrated by events about the middle of the sixth century. The invading Germans had caused general lawlessness and disorder. The Emperor Justinian was giving close attention to the German problem. Amid the chaos of his empire, he observed a law-and-order group. In it the clergy were conspicuous. He rewarded their loyalty and devotion by conferring upon the bishops the right to "share in the selection of government officials." Justinian also "placed weights and measures under the

[4] Ayer, *A Source Book for Ancient Church History*, p. 531.

control of the pope and the senate."[5] Thus the papacy entered into entangling alliances with civil government.

Two centuries later the advancing Lombards were terrorizing the northern districts of the Italian peninsula, a territory which still belonged to the Eastern Roman empire. The anxious citizenry appealed to Pope Stephen III for protection. The pope was shrewd enough to notice that his assistance might be rewarded by the gift of realty and of sovereignty. What he lacked was an army. But he knew of a good army beyond the Alps. Hence he entered into negotiations with the king of the Franks. The upshot of the matter was that Pippin in 756 "placed the keys of Ravenna and of the other cities of the exarchate along with the grant of them in the confession of St. Peter, thus handing them over to the apostle of God and to his vicar, the holy pope, and to all his successors to be held and controlled forever."[6] To be sure a warranty deed could not be filed, since the Eastern Empire had not abandoned its claim to the land or its sovereignty. Actually, however, the pope became a temporal prince.

The legality of the pope's title was gradually established by predating the conferment of temporal sov-

[5] Thatcher-McNeal, *A Source Book for Medieval History*, p. 87.
[6] *Ibid.*, p. 105.

ereignty to the time of the Emperor Constantine. Toward the end of the eighth century, Pope Hadrian cited the forged donation of Constantine to demonstrate that the first Christian emperor bequeathed to Pope Sylvester not merely the imperial palace and other property in the city of Rome but also the dominion over Rome and the West. Indeed, the earthly emperor had moved his capital to Constantinople because it was not proper that he should "hold sway where the heavenly emperor Christ had established the sovereignty of priests and pope." For seven centuries this myth was rather generally believed. The rebellion against the Eastern emperor was consummated when on Christmas of 800 the pope crowned Charlemagne Roman emperor. The papal hypothesis was that Pope Leo III as Christ's vicar granted the Frank the sovereignty of the Roman Empire. Obviously, then, the imperial office must be the handmaid of the papal autocracy.

Henceforward, the popes confer crowns and titles upon emperors, kings, and dukes. Pope Sylvester II gave the royal crown to Stephen of Hungary in 1000, receiving "under the protection of the holy church the kingdom which you have surrendered to St. Peter, together with yourself and your people, the Hungarian nation; and we now give it back to you and your heirs and successors to be held, possessed, ruled,

and governed."[7] Likewise, Pope Nicholas II, in 1059, conferred the title of duke upon some Norman adventurers and assumed the feudal lordship over southern Italy and Sicily.[8]

For centuries the reformed papacy exercised secular authority over Europe and the British Isles. Pope Gregory VII accepted oaths from various princes and kings; informed the king of Hungary that the "kingdom of Hungary belonged of right to the Holy Roman Church"; conferred the government of Russia upon Demetrius. Hildebrand also deposed Henry IV, emperor of the Holy Roman Empire, after that monarch had deposed Hildebrand and said, "Come down, then, from the apostolic seat which you have obtained by violence. . . . Let another ascend the throne of St. Peter, one who will not use religion as a cloak of violence but will teach the life-giving doctrine of the prince of the apostles. I, Henry, king by the grace of God, with all my bishops say unto you: 'Come down, come down, and be accursed through all the ages.'"[9] Pope Hadrian IV, in 1155, authorized Henry II of England to take possession of Ireland: "It is beyond all doubt, as your Highness acknowledges, that Ireland and all the other islands on which the light of the gospel of Christ has dawned, and which have received the documents of the Chris-

[7] *Ibid.*, p. 119. [8] *Ibid.*, p. 124. [9] *Ibid.*, p. 152.

tian faith, do of right belong to the blessed Peter and the Holy Roman Church. . . . We . . . do hereby declare our will and pleasure that for the purpose of enlarging the bounds of the church, setting restrictions on the progress of evil, for reforming manners, planting virtue and extending the Christian religion, you do enter that island and execute therein whatsoever shall be for the honor of God and the welfare of the land. And, further, let the people of that land receive you with honor, and reverence you as their lord; the rights of the church by all means remaining inviolate and unimpaired, and the annual pension of one penny being reserved to the blessed Peter and the Holy Roman Church." [10]

When Frederick I Barbarossa said, "I am Emperor of the Romans by the appointment of God," the papal reply was, "What is the German king till he has been consecrated at Rome? The chair of St. Peter can withdraw the gifts which it has given."

In 1208 Innocent III placed King John of England and his realm under the interdict. Bells were silent. Worship ceased. "The dead were unburied; the living unblessed." Finally the king surrendered his kingdom to the pope and, on the promise to pay an annual rent, received it back in fief. The

[10] J. Heron, *Evolution of Latin Christianity*, p. 184.

same pope punished Philip of France, invested the prefect of Rome, bestowed the title of king upon the duke of Bohemia and took such other measures as were necessary to insure the supremacy of the papacy. Innocent III did not treat the state as a "perfect society." He insisted that it was "the business of the pope to look after the interests of the Roman emperor." "As God, the creator of the universe set two great lights in the firmament of heaven . . . so He set two great dignities in the firmament of the universal church . . . the greater to rule the day, that is, souls, and the lesser to rule the night, that is, bodies. These dignities are the papal authority and the royal power. And just as the moon gets her light from the sun and is inferior to the sun in quality, quantity, position, and effect, so the royal power gets the splendor of its dignity from the papal authority." [11]

The completed medieval papal political theory finds its classical expression in the *Unam Sanctam* Bull of Pope Boniface VIII, published in 1302: "The true faith compels us to believe that there is one holy catholic apostolic church, and this we firmly believe and plainly confess. And outside of her there

[11] Thatcher-McNeal, *A Source Book for Medieval History*, p. 208.

is no salvation or remission of sins . . . there is one body of the one and only church, and one head, not two heads, as if the church were a monster. And this head is Christ and his vicar, Peter and his successor. . . . By the words of the gospel we are taught that the two swords, namely, the spiritual authority and the temporal are in the power of the church. . . . Both swords, therefore, the spiritual and the temporal, are in the power of the church. The former to be used by the church, the latter for the church; the one by the hand of the priest, the other by the hand of kings and knights, but at the command and permission of the priest. . . . Therefore if the temporal power errs, it will be judged by the spiritual power, and if the lower spiritual power errs, it will be judged by the superior. But if the highest spiritual power errs, it cannot be judged by men but by God alone. . . . We therefore declare, say, and affirm that submission on the part of every man to the bishop of Rome is altogether necessary for his salvation." [12] No wonder Pope Boniface VIII added a second crown to the papal tiara!

Augustinus Triumphus summarizes the medieval papal political theory in a single proposition, "The

[12] *Ibid.*, p. 315.

entire world forms a single kingdom whose sovereign is Christ; and the pope is his vicar," while Ægidius Romanus rages, "No persons possess property except under the church. Every acre, every vineyard belongs to a man only through the church." [13]

Geffcken's verdict is modest and fair. "The state was in the hierarchical view, the mere earthly, unholy power, the sæculum; nay the Prince of this World was called in Scripture the Devil. Not until the State-power had been consecrated by the Church and obeyed her authority was it purified and made the instrument of higher aims. The empire was only a divine institution so far as it derived its consecration from a representative of Christ, appointed immediately by God. He alone invested princes with the temporal sword. They, accordingly, were only his plenipotentiaries." [14]

"Papa-Re" was flesh and blood in the medieval world. In the modern environment the kingship of the pope has become a fading memory. While Pope Innocent III played chess with the mighty rulers of his day, always winning his game in two or three moves, Pope Benedict XV wisely remained neutral during the World War. His note to the heads of the belligerent nations made little impression.

[13] A. T. Innes, *Church and State*, p. 97.
[14] Geffcken, *Church and State*, I, p. 300.

"Five punds a week am I making syne the war," said a Scotch body, "and there's that auld deevil, the pope, wanting peace." The papal anathema was not hurled. No king or president would have feared it. Times had changed.

CHAPTER THREE

After a Century of Religious Conflict

MEDIEVAL philosophy assumed the unity, the universality, and the permanence of the Holy Roman Catholic Apostolic Church under its spiritual emperor, the pope. This world-religion implied a world-monarchy. The international church required an international empire. Medieval religion took these points of departure for granted. Medieval society more or less conformed to them.

Long before the sixteenth century dawned men were beginning to appreciate that the boasted unity, universality, and permanence of church and state were fleeting dreams. A series of shocks aroused the medieval world from its peaceful repose.

One element in the transition to the modern world was the rise of nationalism and consequently of national churches. More than two centuries before the Protestant Reformation, England and France were not only advertising their independence from the papacy but were beginning to maintain it. Magna Charta had provided for the freedom of the Anglican

Church. When Boniface VIII asked Edward I to submit his claims to Scotland to the decision of the pope, parliament replied that the kings of England had "never made answer for their rights as to temporalities to any judge, ecclesiastical or secular." Edward III urged Pope Clement to "feed and not shear the sheep." Various statutes protected the state against encroachments by the church. Thus it was forbidden to alienate "land from the jurisdiction of the civil power by appropriating it to religious persons," to accept appointments to English benefices from the pope, to appeal from the verdict of an English court to Rome. In 1365 Pope Urban was refused the annual tribute then thirty years in arrears. Church property was also subjected to taxation.

In 1269, France announced that "elections in the French church should be free from papal control." Moreover, the pope was forbidden to raise money in France unless both the French king and church consented. Pope Boniface VIII excommunicated Philip the Fair of France. But the pope was compelled to leave Rome for Anagni and was made prisoner by an official of the French king. The successor of Pope Boniface VIII revoked the excommunication, while the next pope, Clement V, a Frenchman, tried the dead Boniface and disavowed the application of the

bull *Unam Sanctam* to the French king and people. For some seven decades the papal court was located in French territory at Avignon and was thoroughly under French influence. The Great Schism which split Christianity into two or three factions did not preëminently promote the idea of unity. It hastened the convening of the general councils. And when they failed, the new nations and national churches were strengthened. As a result of the Hundred Years' War there was greater national solidarity in France. Royal power triumphed over feudalism. The king secured a standing army. An ordinance of 1439 provided for military uniforms. France boldly objected to the imposition of the Turkish tithe in 1451. In the settlement of 1516, France among other things obtained the right of taxing the clergy, parliamentary supervision of ecclesiastical courts, the location of the spiritual court in France, and the abolition of expectancies and reservations.

In the century preceding the Protestant Reformation, the popes entered into compromises with various European states. Bargains with the emperor and princes of Germany resulted in filling that country with Italian clerics. During most of the fifteenth century, France greatly restricted the power of the papacy. In Spain, Ferdinand and Isabella, by the concordat of 1482, were granted the right to control

the church of Spain and to nominate all higher ecclesiastics. It was also necessary to secure the royal permission for the publication of papal bulls in Spain.

Nationalism was modifying the international church as well as the empire. For a national church always cuts across universality and uniformity and insists upon special privileges for itself.

Another influence working against medieval complacency was intellectual curiosity. Mohammedan civilization conserved and transmitted portions of the Greek and Hindu cultures to the Western World. While the Christian world was neglecting science, the Arabs were making and recording new observations. Scientific irrigation and silk culture and high grade schools were characteristic. The crusades therefore meant an intellectual renaissance for many Christians. Mohammedan treatment of the insane shamed Christianity into the adoption of a more humanitarian attitude. New routes to the East, new commercial articles, enlargement of the geographical and trade horizons, the rise of the middle class of manufacturers, merchants, professional men, destruction of the monopoly formerly enjoyed by the clergy and the nobles, decline of the papacy, international mingling, and increase in royal power in the various nations were some of the consequences of these costly Western adventures in the Orient. Historical study

was attacking and exploding many an aged fiction, as the donation of Constantine learned to its sorrow. The invention of printing began the democratization of knowledge. Even the proscribed Bible could not escape translation into the various vernaculars. The common man heard the word of God in his own tongue. The Reuchlin controversy popularized the study of Hebrew and burlesqued the Dominican censorship. The publication of the Greek Testament by Erasmus in 1516 brought on a debate regarding the original text of the New Testament which has not been concluded in 1929. When the great humanist failed to print I John 5:7 now found in the Authorized Version, the textual pot boiled over. Some of the books of Erasmus went through from forty to sixty editions. The people were enjoying his caricature of the clergy, monks, and professors. One taste of the new learning made ancient scholasticism seem stale and flat. Humanism broke the authority of scholasticism, for centuries the intellectual dictator, trained men to fight for the higher interests, formed the party of progress at the universities, furnished the historical data so necessary in the fight against the medieval church, gave new understanding of the Bible and through historical studies direct contact with the rich past, insured sanity and common sense, and saved the Reformation from excess of fanaticism.

"It was long the fashion to trace modern times to the Turkish occupation of the trade routes and the capture of Constantinople, to the Italian revival of letters and development of art, or to the Lutheran revolt against the medieval church. Professor Lybyer has proved beyond possibility of contradiction that the Turkish occupation of the trade routes had no influence upon the early origin of overseas explorations and the development of modern colonial enterprise in America and the Far East, and, along with Professors Shepherd and Abbott, has demonstrated that the great cause for overseas expansion around 1500 was the scientific curiosity of the West and the jealousy of the western states concerning the Italian monopoly of the Eastern trade with the Levant districts."[1] The Portuguese soon "possessed 52 establishments, commanding 15,000 miles of coast, and held them nominally with 20,000 men." The profits were enormous. Thus the Portuguese worked at the eastward route to India, the Spanish began to experiment with the westward route, and the English, French, and Dutch sought to discover a northeast or a northwest passage. The goal was always wealthy India. Columbus profited by the suggestion of Roger Bacon as transmitted by Pierre d'Ailly that India

[1] H. E. Barnes, *The New History and the Social Studies*, p. 24.

could be reached by sailing west. A verse in his Old Testament [2] stated that there was six times as much land upon the earth as water. Toscanelli's chart greatly reduced the actual distance from the Azores to India. Maps do not lie. Evidently the westward route to India was far shorter than the eastward route whether by land or by water: Columbus sailed west and landed, as he thought, upon an island off the coast of Asia. To the day of his death, he continued to believe that he was concerned with Asia.[3] He had found a "new path to an old world." Others were to cross the Pacific Ocean and to circumnavigate the earth. North and South America turned out to be by-products of the search for India. The six thousand mile pancake earth expanded one day into a huge 25,000 mile sphere spinning around the sun and also around its own axis. Medieval skulls, filled with theological dogmas, cracked wide open with curiosity. The Bible, asserting the flatness of the earth in five favorite passages, inspired in every jot and tittle, seemed suddenly in error. A scheme of salvation carefully arranged to satisfy European conditions had now to make room for "tribes in every stage of progress." How small Europe was becoming! How unsatisfactory the orthodox theology was!

[2] IV Esdras 6:42.
[3] Catholic Encyclopedia, vol. IV, p. 148.

The new astronomy and the new geography demanded a new theory of government and a new theology.

Meanwhile, old Europe was being plagued with commercial and social upheaval. The use of gunpowder taught the robber knights that their day of big profits at the expense of the unprotected merchant had ended. The capitalistic development of industry revolutionized the hand-to-mouth medieval system. That system had curtailed speculation, eliminated waste, and made it possible for the journeyman to become master. It was a safe system but it was slow and doomed to disappear before the accumulation of capital, through access to new trading routes, large scale mining, and the development of textile industries. There was much restiveness among the peasants, the lowest layer of the social pyramid. After centuries of suffering and incipient rebellion here and there, they were preparing for the war of 1525 when their argument for human rights and privileges should be settled in blood and turn the Reformation into a tragedy.

The Christian renaissance had begun in the fourteenth century with Gerard Groote and John Wyclif. Thenceforward individuals were always to be met with who emphasized some overlooked teaching of the New Testament. For example, in 1512, James Lefevre published his Pauline epistles, the "first Prot-

estant book," in which he criticized the Vulgate text, the worship and the sacraments of the church. In 1520, Martin Luther broadcast three revolutionary tracts, "To the Christian Nobility of the German Nation," "The Prelude on the Babylonian Captivity of the Church," and "The Freedom of a Christian Man." The first was a declaration of war summoning the nobility to the reformation of the curia, monasteries, worship, universities, and the state, and made Luther the acknowledged head of the party of reform. The second was addressed to the clergy, dealt severely with the seven sacraments of Roman Catholicism, and was considered an atrocity by conservative and liberal Catholic alike. The third tract of Luther "would never have created the reformation." It emphasized that every Christian is a "free lord of all things and therefore subject to no one, and also a bond-servant of all things and therefore subject to every one." Soon Northern Europe and Great Britain witnessed the emergence of five principal types of Protestantism: Quiescent Lutheranism, Radical and Communistic Anabaptism, Militant Calvinism, Elastic Anglicanism, and Democratic Christianity.

Protestantism was but one element in the transition to the modern world. That transition began much earlier than the sixteenth century and required a

couple of further centuries for its completion. Protestantism was an "attempt to consecrate the supreme worth of personality." Its principal characteristics have been personalism, the authority of the Bible, and denominationalism.

Personalism implies the right of the individual to think, inquire, and conclude. It holds that the individual is free in his relation to God and to truth and to his fellows. Hence, it affirms the universal priesthood of all believers, the right of private judgment, and ultimately the separation of church and state. "It was the competing claims of religious bodies and the inability of any single one of them to destroy the others which finally secured liberty. . . . Political liberty is the fruit of ecclesiastical animosities." [4]

Discarding the authority of the church and of tradition, Protestantism sought a new authority in the Bible. In making its appeal to the Bible, Protestantism insisted that all must be free to read the Bible and to interpret the Bible. Moreover, all must obey the Bible. It taught that the Bible was not a difficult book and gradually built up the dogma of its verbal inspiration and its inerrancy. It excluded the Apocrypha as human writings and made the remaining sixty-six books both infallible and self-interpret-

[4] J. N. Figgis, *Churches in the Modern State*, p. 101.

ing. Meanwhile the historical method of understanding the Bible subjected these claims to critical scrutiny, denying the uniqueness of the vocabulary of the New Testament, revealing the strata in both the Old Testament and the New Testament, describing the long and hesitating process which issued in the selection of the present books of the Bible, and demonstrating that literalism is always selective.

Personalism plus this appeal to the Bible and religious liberty has brought forth denominationalism which is little more than religious self-determination.

The progress of the Protestant revolution summoned the Roman Catholicism of the sixteenth century to self-examination and to a new solidarity. Many who remained faithful protested against the state of the church. Pope Hadrian VI directed his legate to make a statement before the diet meeting at Nuremberg in 1523 which contained this confession of sin, "We confess that God permits this persecution to fall upon his church on account of sins, especially the sins of priests and prelates. We know that in this holy seat for some years past there have been many abominations, abuses in spiritual matters, excesses in commands, and that all things have been changed to evil. Nor is it wonderful that the sickness has passed from the head to the members, from

pope to inferior prelates. . . . Wherefore we promise to do all in our power to reform the curia, whence perchance all this evil has proceeded; that as corruption flowed thence, so health and reformation should in time be derived." [5] At the Council of Trent the faith of the church was defined. The Roman Catholic Church was declared to be one and only. Obedience to the pope was demanded of every member of the church. The Counter Reformation was organized. The powerful Jesuit Order was formed. The inquisition was reinstated. Catholic countries were combed for dissenters from the true faith. For a century northern Europe was overrun by religious war.

In 1546 the Schmalkald War began. In 1648 the Thirty Years' War came to its bitter end. During this calamitous century the soil of Europe was soaked with blood of Christians contending in battle for their religious convictions. The convictions remained much the same. But the heavy losses in wealth and in human material dictated a truce.

The Schmalkald War was due to the division of the Protestants into antagonistic groups, to the bigamy of Philip of Hessen, and to the religious fervor and skillful diplomacy of the Emperor Charles V. The war was described as directed against his rebel-

[5] Gieseler, *Church History,* vol. IV, p. 67, note 94.

lious subjects rather than against religion. The Protestant princes were compelled to surrender, and Protestantism was politically broken. But the pope saved Protestantism by withdrawing the papal contingent in the midst of the war, by ordering the Council of Trent to take up the doctrinal discussion first, and by adjourning that council to Bologna. The emperor was therefore forced to an ad interim compromise with the Protestants. When the conflict was later renewed, the situation had become so adverse for Charles V that he was only too glad to escape further humiliation by accepting the Peace of Augsburg. According to this settlement of 1555 the adherents of the Augsburg Confession of Faith were to enjoy peace and religious liberty. The faith of the ruler of any area was to be the faith of his subjects. One was Protestant or Roman Catholic according as one dwelt in Protestant or Roman Catholic territory. This religious peace was concerned with Lutheran rulers not with individual Lutherans or with either Calvinist princes or Calvinists. A member of the Reformed Church had no rights and privileges under this treaty. It divided Germany into antagonistic religious camps. Slight as these concessions were, they aroused the fury of Pope Paul IV and disclosed his intention of opposing the Protestant schism at all costs. Roman

Catholicism desired to maintain the unity of Western Christianity.

After numerous skirmishes between Roman Catholicism and Protestantism, the major action occurred in the Thirty Years' War. In 1608 a Protestant union under Frederick of the Palatinate was organized to be followed by the formation of a Catholic League under Maximilian of Bavaria the next year. In 1618 Bohemian Protestants declared their Roman Catholic king deposed and chose Frederick of the Palatinate in his stead. For three long decades the crisis endured. In its first phase, 1618-1624, Bohemia was Romanized by the prohibition of the Protestant religion and the exile of the Protestant ministers. During its Danish phase, 1625-1629, Denmark, Holland, and England also participated. During its Swedish and Swedish-French phase, 1629-1648, the struggle became exceedingly complicated. Self-indulgence, fanaticism, burning of witches and wizards, civil conflict, enormous cruelties, disgusting atrocities, wrestled with one another for the principal places in the picture. The Reformed princes of Germany were supported not only by the Protestant Sweden under Gustavus Adolphus and the Low Countries but by Roman Catholic France under Richelieu. Austria fought valiantly for the ancient faith. It became a war of exhaustion.

Germany footed the bill for a couple of centuries. Repeated marches, plunderings, invasions, sieges, occupations, relief expeditions, evacuations, reoccupations, turned fertile areas into wastes. Nearly 30,000 Bohemian villages and five-sixths of all German towns were destroyed. The Palatinate was overrun more than a score of times. A population of more than sixteen millions was by sword, famine, disease, and emigration reduced to less than six millions. "Few more disgusting acts of barbarity have ever been committed than the sack and burning of Magdeburg by Tilly. Not only was the torch of war lighted by the Jesuit councillors of Ferdinand II, but after all its ravages the pope refused to recognize the peace of 1648. In 1631 Pope Urban VIII congratulated Ferdinand on the destruction of Magdeburg, and expressed the hope that other rebel cities would soon meet the same fate." [6] Much of the soil of northern Germany was unfit for agriculture for a generation after the war. Commerce and industry collapsed. Prices depreciated. Products of Bavaria and Westphalia disappeared from the trade routes. The peasants were ruined for many decades.

Peace finally came. It meant a weakened empire and a stronger France. Protestant rulers obtained many foundations in northern Europe. Holland and

[6] Reinach, *A Short History of Christianity*, p. 128.

Switzerland were recognized as free republics. Imperial cities returned to the religious status of January 1, 1624, while the Palatinate, Württemberg, and Baden returned to that of 1618. The Palatinate regained the electorship. Roman Catholicism lost much territory. The stipulations of the Treaty of Passau, 1552, and of the Religion Peace of Augsburg, 1555, were confirmed. Similar religious rights and privileges were now extended to the Reformed churches. The papal jurisdiction over Lutherans and Calvinists was regarded as terminated. Both Protestants and Roman Catholics living in areas of the opposing faith, who in 1624 were practicing their religion, were granted permission to observe their own religion in private. Dissenters residing in places where such permission was refused had the right to emigrate. The children of dissenters could be educated in accordance with their own religious convictions. Religious burial could not be denied them, and their civil capacity was not in jeopardy. Formerly the diet decided religious issues by majority vote. After 1648 it had to discover an amicable solution of any religious question. The Protestant minority was given representation on the various committees. The day had passed when the imperial diet might proceed to coerce the Protestant minority. The principle of religious parity invaded the courts. The separate states

were granted territorial sovereignty. Hence some three hundred princes looked out upon an attenuated emperor. The empire's frontier against France, now the first nation in Europe, was incapable of defense. It was now solely a German affair until dissolved in 1806.

The religious consequences of the Peace of Westphalia can hardly be overestimated. No one understood this better than the reigning pope and his successors. Twice Pope Innocent X ordered his nuncio to protest against the findings of the peace plenipotentiaries. In November of 1648 the pope himself declared the articles of the Peace of Westphalia "null, vain, invalid, iniquitous, unjust, damnable, reprobate, inane, void of effect." He added that no one who had sworn to observe the peace was obliged to keep his oath. His successors felt much the same way, for Pope Pius VII as late as 1789 pointed out that the Peace of Westphalia had never been acknowledged by the church. The papacy was aware that this treaty repudiated the doctrine of "papa-re," that under its provisions Christianity was no longer a "society of Catholic nations, acknowledging one only faith under the supremacy of the pope, the vicar of Christ." The pope now ceased to be the "supreme arbiter of the faith, the guardian of the people against the tyranny of their princes." Public jurisprudence

no longer recognized the right of the pope to depose sovereigns. Protestantism by 1648 had attained "within certain limits, a legally impregnable position and adequate means to insure and defend its rights." Mutual toleration between Roman Catholicism and Protestantism was the practice if not the theory from this time forward.

The protest of the pope had been anticipated by the negotiators of the peace. It had been nullified by the declaration that "all protests and vetoes shall be null and void." In this way any intervention of the Roman curia was shorn of power in advance. And it did not occur to any nation to appeal to the papal protest in order to escape the terms of the treaty of peace. The papacy had indeed been slighted and repudiated.

Henceforward, the sovereign rights of the pope were seriously questioned. "The Peace of Westphalia was an abrogation of the sovereignty of Rome, and of the theory of church and state with which the name of Rome was associated." [7] The modern movement against the sovereign rights of the pope began about the middle of the sixteenth century. It reached its consummation in 1870. By that time the principle of democracy had been accepted, that the governed must be consulted and must give their consent not

[7] Bryce, *The Holy Roman Empire*, p. 392.

only to the form of government but to its administration. And the resistance of the papacy to the application of the democratic doctrine merely issued in the "stern control of Catholic life. The Roman Church was nowhere free. Her claim to statehood was on all sides met by the response that her competing system of allegiance was incompatible with the sovereignty of the state." [8]

The significance of the Thirty Years' War has been fairly estimated on the Roman Catholic side: "The work of the Reformation was accomplished, one may say, a little after the outbreak of the Thirty Years' War. England in particular was definitely Protestant by the decade 1620-1630—hardly earlier. The French Huguenot body, though still confused with political effort, had come to have a separate and real existence at about the same time. The oligarchy of Dutch merchants had similarly cut off their part of the Low Countries from imperial rule, and virtually established their independence. The North German principalities and sundry smaller states of the mountains, (notably) Geneva, had definitely received the new stamp. As definitely France, Bohemia, the Danube, Poland, Italy and all the South were saved." [9]

[8] Quoted from Laski, *Authority in the Modern State*, p. 264, by Marshall, *The Roman Catholic Church in the Modern State*, p. 187.

[9] Hilaire Belloc, *Europe and the Faith*, p. 249.

Europe had been permanently divided into Roman Catholic and Protestant sections. This religious cleavage perpetuated itself in the New World. The unity of Western Christianity was ruined beyond repair. But that divided state of Christianity protects the world against the political aspirations of the Roman pontiffs.

CHAPTER FOUR

Infallibility and Impotence

LONG before the modern age the papal interpretation of the relation between state and church was vigorously criticized. At the very moment when Pope Boniface VIII was so haughtily advertising papal presumption, Pierre du Bois was proclaiming that France must dominate the world. The universal sway of the French king as emperor over Christians and Moslems was the way to peace, while the transfer of the temporal power of the papacy to France would insure peace. Dante of Florence and Ravenna denounced ecclesiastical corruption, condemned contemporary popes to hell, and regarded the empire as essential to the well-being of the world. He contended that God had granted universal sovereignty to the Roman Empire else Christ's death would have been illegal and the entire Christian plan of salvation would rest on a fallacy. When Christ accepted the sentence of Pilate, he indicated that the authority of the Roman emperor was from God. Indeed, the spiritual nature of the church forbade the possession and exercise

of temporal power by the popes. In the *Defensor Pacis* the right of the church to coerce is denied. Temporal matters, moreover, are within the jurisdiction of the state. The pope is not the voice of the church. The church is autonomous. Every true believer is a cleric. The community owns ecclesiastical property. Government originates in the sovereignty of the people. Again, toward the close of the fourteenth century John Wyclif of England in siren tones shouted that the temporal and spiritual supremacy of the state could not be challenged. The king is God's vicar and therefore possesses jurisdiction over ecclesiastical persons, powers, property, and courts. Shame upon the church for employing the method of coercion! Persuasion alone may be used when the conscience must decide. The landed wealth and secular interests of priests should be turned over to His Majesty's government.

The story of Gallicanism well illustrates how the relation between the Roman Catholic hierarchy and the civil government has always been a problem in Europe. The beginnings of this conflict are traceable to the ninth century. France has been obliged to fight this battle on two fronts, against the claims and demands of the clergy, on the one side, and those of the pope, on the other. By the end of the tenth century the French king exercised the right of con-

vening ecclesiastical councils, nominating bishops, and administering the property of vacant bishoprics. The first royal measure against ecclesiastical power was the ordinance of 1372 whereby bishops were forbidden to deal with the sale of landed property, heritages, and so on. The stakes battled for by French nationalism were the supremacy of General Councils in matters of spiritual significance, the independence of the king from the pope, the superiority of the civil power over the religious power, the right of the civil society to defend itself against encroachments of the clergy, the right of the king to interfere practically in behalf of the rights of the state. The points at issue between church and state may be put in another way, namely, the pope may be judged; the power higher than the pope to which he is amenable is the General Christian Council; the king may not be deposed by the pope; the pope may not release subjects from obedience to the king; the line of cleavage between the spiritual and the temporal must be clearly drawn; the clergy must stay on their side of this line; the king and not the pope is the head of the Gallican church, the king may legally confiscate temporalities; the exercise of social power by the church depends upon the consent of the civil government.

An agreement entered into in 1408 and in effect

until 1516 acknowledged the Gallican claims. In 1682 under Louis XIV the charter of Gallican liberties was promulgated whereby nationalism in religion was legalized. The famous four points of this proclamation were, that the pope is supreme only in spiritual affairs; that the spiritual authority of the papacy is subject to the decisions of a General Council, the Council of Constance having determined the limits of the spiritual power of the papacy; that the ancient rules of the Gallican church are of independent validity, that is, the legislative and judicial authority of the papacy is limited by the French constitution and customs; that the consent of the universal church is necessary ere a final decision by the pope becomes infallible.

A little more than a century later the French Revolution came. It was a repudiation of both the monarchy and the church. In 1789 religious toleration was proclaimed. Priests were required to take an oath to defend the constitution. The church was denied any inherent rights; it was the creation of the state. A few days in September, 1792, witnessed the assassination of nine hundred clericals. Care of vital statistics was taken over by the state. Two years later the separation of church and state was enforced. Napoleon now came upon the stage. In 1801 he compelled the representative of Pope Pius

VII to sign a concordat. Napoleon was to nominate the new bishops. Roman Catholicism was affirmed to be the "religion of the majority." But when the concordat was published in 1802, it had associated with it "organic articles" forbidding publication of papal documents, exercise of ecclesiastical functions by nuncio or legate, and the holding of a council without the consent of the state. In seventy-six articles Napoleon described the state of the church in France. In 1804 Napoleon was chosen emperor. Pope Pius VII received an invitation to crown him. The pope journeyed to Paris. But on December second, Napoleon crowned himself and Josephine. The humiliated pope was very long-suffering in the hope of securing favorable modifications of existing restrictions. But he returned to Rome disappointed. In 1809 Napoleon incorporated the papal states in his empire. A bull of excommunication was issued but the pope expressly stated that he did not "mean to pass judgment against the temporal power and the obedience of the subjects." The pope was taken prisoner and brought to Savona and finally signed the decree of Napoleon's council. The aged pope was later transferred to Fontainebleau where one day Napoleon presented a concordat demanding among other things the "abdication of the temporal power." Pius VII signed it. The reverses of Napoleon

brought freedom for the pope in March, 1814, and the Congress of Vienna restored most of the states of the church to him.

The Vatican Council in 1870 condemned three of the four points of the Gallican liberties, and Episcopal Gallicanism became a heresy. Yet France proceeded to liberalize public education and to supervise Roman Catholic congregations. In 1904 diplomatic relations between France and the Vatican were severed. Within a biennium the principle of separation of church and state had been ratified by the people.

Politically the Protestant Reformation at first meant merely a shift in the balance of power from the pope to the secular ruler. Luther appealed to nationalism: "the nonsense which would exalt the papal power above the imperial is not worth a farthing; and we will tolerate no longer that arrogance worthy of the devil, which would make the emperor kiss the feet of the pope or hold his stirrups; still less which would have him swear homage and allegiance." John Calvin taught that the civil government had been ordained by God and that it should "cherish and support the external worship of God, preserve the true doctrines of religion, defend the constitution of the church, regulate our lives in a way needful for society, conform our manners to civil justice, pro-

mote the common concord, establish general peace and tranquillity . . . no government can be happily constituted unless its first object be the promotion of piety . . . all laws are preposterous which neglect the claims of God and merely provide for the interests of men."[1] Calvin emphasized the sinfulness of rebellion by private persons and declared that civil servitude was compatible with religious liberty. The tyrant is the scourge of God. One may be a public avenger only when God in a special manner calls and vindicates him. But any laws or regulations opposing God's commandments should never be obeyed.

Most Protestant confessions of faith assert the religious competence of the civil authority. This is always a criticism of Roman Catholic political theory and often a repudiation of the temporal power of the papacy. Pertinent statements from various Protestant confessions of faith indicate how generally such views were held. The Second Helvetic Confession reads, "For indeed we teach that the care of religion does chiefly appertain to the holy magistrate"; the French Confession, "God has put the sword into the hands of magistrates to suppress crimes against the first as well as against the second table of the commandments of God"; the Belgic Confession, "And their [the magistrates'] office is, not only to have

[1] Calvin's *Institutes,* Book IV, chap. XX.

regard unto and watch for the welfare of the civil state, but also that they protect the sacred ministry, and thus may remove and prevent all idolatry and false worship; that the Kingdom of Anti-Christ may be destroyed, and the Kingdom of Christ promoted"; the Scotch Confession, "Mairover, to Kings, Princes, Rulers and Magistrates, wee affirme that chieflie and most principallie the conservation and purgation of the Religious apperteins; so that not onlie they are appointed for Civill policie, but also for maintenance of the trew Religion, and for suppressing of Idolatrie and Superstition whatsoever"; the Thirty-nine Articles of the Church of England, "We give not to our princes the ministering either of God's word, or of Sacraments . . . but that only prerogative whiche we see to have been given alwayes to all godly Princes in holy Scriptures by God him selfe, that is, that they should rule all estates and degrees committed to their charge by God, whether they be Ecclesiasticall or Temporale, and restraine with the civile sworde the stubborne and evyll-doers. The bishop of Rome hath no jurisdiction in this Realme of England"; the Irish Articles of Religion, "The king's majesty under God hath the sovereign and chief power within his realms and dominions over all manner of persons, of what estate, either ecclesiastical or civil, soever they may be, so as no other foreign power

hath, or ought to have, any superiority over them. . . . The Pope, neither of himself, nor by any authority of the Church or See of Rome, or by any other means with any other, hath any power or authority to depose the king, or dispose any of his kingdoms or dominions; or to authorize any other prince to invade or annoy him or his countries; or to discharge any of his subjects of their allegiance and obedience to his Majesty; or to give license or leave to any of them to bear arms, raise tumult, or to offer any violence or hurt to his royal person, state, or government, or to any of his subjects within his Majesty's dominions. That princes which be excommunicated or deprived by the Pope may be deposed or murdered by their subjects or any other whatsoever, is impious doctrine"; the Westminster Confession of Faith, "The civil magistrate may not assume to himself the administration of the Word and Sacraments, or the power of the keys of the kingdom of heaven: yet he hath authority, and it is his duty to take order, that unity and peace be preserved in the Church, that the truth of God be kept pure and entire, that all blasphemies and heresies be suppressed, all corruptions and abuses in worship and discipline prevented or reformed, and all the ordinances of God settled, administered, and observed. For the better effecting whereof he hath power to call synods, to be present

at them, and to provide that whatsoever is transacted in them be according to the mind of God." [2]

This hundred per cent Protestant opposition to the temporal power of the papacy occasionally became vocal in famous tracts upon religious toleration and freedom of conscience. Busher, Taylor, Richardson, Milton, Locke, Hobbes, and many others rang the bells of religious freedom. But broad-minded as Milton and Locke were, they refused to advocate toleration for Roman Catholicism for the reason that "a church can have no right to be tolerated by the magistrate, which is constituted upon such a bottom, that all who enter into it, do thereby, *ipso facto,* deliver themselves up to the protection and service of another prince." [3]

The part played by democratic Christianity and by American political theory in hastening the disintegration of papal political theory will be described in a later chapter.[4] Suffice it at present to trace how the pope became infallible at almost the moment in which he lost his temporal power in 1870. Thus impotence was coupled with infallibility; political defeat with spiritual autocracy. Just as the theory of the papacy reached formal completion, the temporal power

[2] Schaff's *Creeds of Christendom,* vol. III.
[3] Hastings' Encyclopedia of Religion and Ethics, vol. XII, p. 364.
[4] See Chapter VI.

of the papacy vanished. Pope Pius IX was granted a spiritual power he never dared to employ even as he was deprived of a political power he longed to employ.

The reign of Pope Pius IX was a crisis in the history of the papacy. It began in 1846. It ended in 1878. Beginning as a liberal, attempting to reform the papal states, encouraging Italy to hope for independence and unity, Pius IX became a fugitive in 1848. The proclamation of the Roman republic early in 1849 invited the intervention of France and Austria. Long French bayonets protected the restored pope in the exercise of his sway over the papal states. Henceforth liberal institutions and Italian unity lacked the support of Pius IX.

In 1854 the Roman Catholic faith in the immaculate conception of Mary was transformed into dogma. What had been rhetoric was now authoritative doctrine. Just as the naïve "born of the Holy Ghost and the virgin Mary" became in Roman Catholicism the "dogma which teaches that the blessed mother of Jesus Christ was a virgin before, during, and after the conception and birth of her divine son," [5] so all the poetry involving Mary crystallized into the definition "that the Blessed Virgin Mary, at the very first instance of her conception, by a singular grace and

[5] Catholic Encyclopedia, vol. XV, p. 448.

privilege of the Omnipotent God, in virtue of the merits of Jesus Christ, the Savior of mankind, was preserved free from all stain of original sin." Not all members of the church could discover the dogma of the immaculate conception of Mary in the Bible. Archbishop Kenrick of St. Louis, for example, could not. In his "speech prepared for speaking but not spoken in the Vatican Council," he wrote, "Speaking for myself alone, I give the following frank reply. . . . I admit that the Blessed Virgin Mary through the singular favor of God and in view of the merits of her Son Jesus Christ, was kept in her conception from all guilt of Adam's sin. I do not deny that this sentiment belongs to the deposit of faith; nevertheless, I have never been able to discover it therein, so far as that deposit is set forth in the scriptures and the writings of the fathers; neither have I ever found the man who could show it to me there." [6] The last chapter in this story is being composed by those Protestant fundamentalists who seem unable to discriminate between the virgin birth of Christ and the immaculate conception of Mary.

Meanwhile the turmoil in the papal states "grew from more to more." The Congress of Paris added its rebuke. Napoleon III and Cavour met secretly

[6] L. W. Bacon, *An Inside View of the Vatican Council*, p. 137 f.

to arrange for their annexation to Sardinia. In 1859 Austria was defeated and withdrew from the papal provinces. But the rebels opposed the return of the papal administration. The battle of pamphlets continued. For one tract in favor of the papal régime, a hundred appeared in opposition. The struggle for the unity of Italy went on. The pope declined to yield territory which belonged not to him but to the church. A plebiscite in the legations returned a heavy majority in favor of union with Sardinia. King Victor Emmanuel began to occupy the papal provinces. Papal volunteers and Garibaldian irregulars fought it out until the Sardinian regulars intervened and defeated the papal contingents. Only Rome and vicinity where French troops were on guard remained under papal jurisdiction. In 1864 France agreed to evacuate Italy within a biennium provided Italy guaranteed to keep papal territory intact and protect it, assume part of the papal indebtedness, and permit the organization of an independent papal army.

At this point, December 8, 1864, Pope Pius IX published his Encyclical Letter called *Quanta Cura* with the annexed *Syllabus,* listing some eighty condemned propositions.[7] "The Syllabus of the principal errors of our time" covers ten kinds: "1. Pantheism, Naturalism, and Absolute Rationalism; 2. Mod-

[7] *Ibid.,* pp. 34-48.

erate Rationalism; 3. Indifferentism, Latitudinarianism; 4. Socialism, Communism, Secret Societies, Biblical Societies, Clerico-Liberal Societies; 5. Errors concerning the Church and her rights; 6. Errors about civil society, considered both in itself and in its relation to the Church; 7. Errors concerning natural and Christian ethics; 8. Errors concerning Christian marriage; 9. Errors regarding the civil power of the sovereign pontiff; 10. Errors having reference to modern liberalism."

We are especially interested in ascertaining the pope's opinion of public education and the separation of church and state. In proposition 45, we read that it is not true that "the entire direction of public schools, in which the youth of Christian states are educated, except (to a certain extent) in the case of episcopal seminaries, may and must appertain to the civil power, and belong to it so far, that no other authority whatsoever shall be recognized as having any right to interfere in the discipline of the schools, the arrangement of the studies, the taking of degrees, or the choice and approval of the teachers." In proposition 47, we read that it is not true that "the best theory of civil society requires, that popular schools open to the children of all classes, and generally, all public institutes intended for instruction in letters and philosophy, and for conducting the educa-

tion of the young, should be freed from all ecclesiastical authority, government, and interference and should be fully subject to the civil and political power, in conformity with the will of rulers and the prevalent opinions of the age." In proposition 48, we read that it is not true that "this system of instructing youth, which consists in separating it from the Catholic faith and from the power of the church, and in teaching exclusively, or at least primarily, the knowledge of natural things and the earthly ends of social life alone, may be approved by Catholics." In proposition 55, we read that it is not true that "the church ought to be separated from the state, and the state from the church." In proposition 76, we read that it is not true that "the abolition of the temporal power, of which the apostolic see is possessed, would contribute in the greatest degree to the liberty and prosperity of the church."

According to "The Syllabus of Errors" it is not true that "the Roman Pontiff can and ought to reconcile himself to, and agree with progress, liberalism, and civilization as lately introduced." The pope sat astride the path of progress and declined to move an inch. "Pius IX had become the object of a more than Byzantine cultus. His flatterers adapted the Breviary hymns in his honor, substituting his name for that of the Diety; Louis Veuillot classed him as an

object of devotion with the Virgin and the consecrated host."[8] And thereupon the deluge!

The completion of the French evacuation of Rome in 1866 left the pope with a couple of thousand mercenaries to defend him. The Garibaldians were soon on the move for the third time. The French halted them once more in 1867. A French occupational army remained in Rome.

As the temporal power of the pope flitted away, his spiritual prestige was exalted by the pronouncements of the Vatican Council. It opened December 8, 1869. It was a Roman Catholic affair. Italian ecclesiastics with almost three hundred delegates formed the center of gravity, outnumbering the entire group of representatives from France, Germany, Great Britain, Spain, Austria-Hungary, and the United States. The public meetings rubber-stamped the findings of the secret sessions. Archbishop Kenrick of St. Louis has left on record a description of the council indicating that the faithful were a bit excited: "In the Vatican Council, this distinction [between theology and faith] does not seem to have been observed. The result—a thing hitherto unknown in councils—has been that the bishops are divided among diverse opinions, disputing, certainly not about doctrines of

[8] Hastings' Encyclopedia of Religion and Ethics, vol. IX, p. 626.

the faith of which they are witnesses and custodians, but about opinions of the schools. The council chamber has been turned into a theological arena, the partisans of opposite opinions, not only on this question of the infallibility of the pope, but on other subjects, exchanging blows back and forth with the hot temper which is more common in theologians than in bishops and is not becoming in either." [9]

Some of the most noted scholars in the Roman Catholic Church argued eloquently and vehemently against the decrees of the Vatican Council. Among these was Doellinger, of Germany and of the world, who "as a Christian, as a theologian, as an historian, and as a citizen" concluded that he could not accept the doctrine of the infallibility of the pope. For he regarded it as "a revolutionary innovation, unknown to the fathers for twelve centuries, begotten in forgeries." When after the adoption of the dogma of papal infallibility, Doellinger was asked to recant or undergo excommunication, he penned a brave letter in which he stated that he could not subscribe to the new decrees: "Not as a Christian; for it is irreconcilable with the spirit of the gospel, and with the clear declarations of Christ and the apostles. . . . Not as a theologian; for it stands in irrecon-

[9] L. W. Bacon, *An Inside View of the Vatican Council*, p. 136 f.

cilable contradiction to all the authentic tradition of the church. Not as an historian; for as such I know that the constant effort to realize this theory of universal empire has cost Europe rivers of blood, has devastated and degraded whole countries, has ruined the noble fabric of the constitution of the ancient church, and has engendered, aggrandized, and perpetuated in the church the most deplorable abuses. Finally, as a citizen, I most regret this doctrine; because, by its pretension, to bring states and monarchs and the whole political order into subjection to the papal power, and by the exemption from law which it claims for the clergy, it prepares the way for discords infinitely mischievous between state and church, between clergy and laity." [10]

Archbishop Kenrick of St. Louis in his famous undelivered speech put it: "God only is infallible. Of the church, the most that we can assert is, that it does not err in teaching the doctrines of faith which Christ has committed to its charge. . . . Therefore infallibility absolute and complete cannot be predicated of it; and perhaps it would be better to refrain from using that word, and use the word *inerrancy* instead. But the church's inerrancy does not seem to be a positive thing, infused into it from heaven . . . although it is always so aided by the grace of the

[10] *Ibid.*, p. 228 f.

Holy Spirit that it may faithfully keep and set forth the truths which Christ has taught." [11]

On July 13, 1870, eighty-eight delegates were opposed to the dogma of papal infallibility while sixty-two had reservations. Five days later eighty-two of these had surrendered. Hence this dogma was finally sustained by 533 votes. It reads in part: "Therefore faithfully adhering to the tradition received from the beginning of the Christian faith, for the glory of God our Saviour, the exaltation of the Catholic religion, and the salvation of Christian people, the sacred Council approving, we teach and define that it is a dogma divinely revealed: that the Roman Pontiff, when he speaks *ex cathedra,* that is, when in discharge of the office of pastor and doctor of all Christians, by virtue of his supreme Apostolic authority, he defines a doctrine regarding faith or morals to be held by the universal Church, by the divine assistance promised to him in blessed Peter, is possessed of that infallibility with which the divine Redeemer willed that His Church should be endowed for defining doctrine regarding faith or morals; and that therefore such definitions of the Roman Pontiff are irreformable of themselves, and not from the consent of the Church. But if anyone—which may God avert—pre-

[11] *Ibid.*, p. 160 f.

sume to contradict this our definition: let him be anathema." [12]

The aftermath of this declaration included the formation of the Old Catholic Church and general governmental suspicion and distrust of the church in both Europe and America.[13]

Almost six decades have elapsed since the head of the Roman Catholic Church was invested with infallible authority. On what occasion has this dreaded power ever been employed? Is the "practical utility of the new decree to be purely retrospective?" [14]

It was on July 18, 1870, that the Vatican Council declared the pope infallible. On the very next day Napoleon III declared war against Prussia. Ere long the French need of soldiers became acute. The French contingent stationed in Italy for the defense of the papal states against the enthusiasm of Italian patriotism was summoned home. Italian regulars occupied the papal boundary to guard it against the volunteers. But the demand for Rome as the capital of united Italy became resistless. On September 20, 1870, the Eternal City was bombarded for a few hours. When Italian troops thereupon entered Rome,

[12] Schaff, *Creeds of Christendom,* vol. II, p. 270.
[13] W. E. Gladstone, *The Vatican Decrees in their Bearing on Civil Allegiance.*
[14] W. J. Sparrow Simpson, *Roman Catholic Opposition to Papal Infallibility,* p. 356.

the temporal sovereignty of the papacy ceased. A plebiscite conducted in Rome, city and province, yielded a vote of 133,681 to 1,507 in favor of union with Sardinia. Cavour insisted upon the principle of a "free church in a free state," and in May, 1871, guaranteed the sacredness of the pope, the grant of a life guard, free diplomatic relationships, extraterritorial rights to three palaces including the Vatican, a heavy indemnity, and other privileges. But Pius IX did not choose to be conciliatory. Instead, he informed the world that he was a prisoner in the Vatican. In this way the "medieval outlook upon life" was perpetuated in the modern world. But the pope was impotent against the appearance of Protestant churches and Bible societies not merely in Italy but even in Rome. Doellinger and Friedrich were deposed but the state advanced them in dignity. More than thirty eminent associates signed the declaration of principles in reply to the action of the German bishops. By September, 1871, the Old Catholic movement was well under way.

On February 12, 1929, the Vatican and Italy entered into a treaty of conciliation, a concordat, and a financial convention.[15] The provisions of this agreement define the Catholic Apostolic Roman religion as the only state religion *in* Italy. A "City of the Vati-

[15] Exchange of ratified pacts, June 7, 1929.

can" is constituted and placed under the sovereignty of the Holy See, but St. Peter's Square continues subject to the police powers of Italy. Persons subject to the authority of the Holy See are those enjoying stable residence in the City of the Vatican. The Holy See has the right to send its own diplomats to foreign countries and to receive foreign diplomats in the City of the Vatican according to the general rules of international law. Italy and the City of the Vatican are to exchange ambassadors. Criminals who take refuge in Vatican territory are to be delivered to the Italian government. Italy recognizes matrimony as a sacrament regulated by canon law. The teaching of religion becomes compulsory in both elementary and secondary schools. Italy agrees to pay an ultimate indemnity of one and three-fourths billion *lire* to the pope.

The ratification of this treaty terminates the self-imposed imprisonment of the pope, for "the Holy See, considering that with the agreements today signed it possesses guarantees necessary to provide with liberty and independence the spiritual government of the diocese of Rome and of the Catholic Church in Italy and the whole world, declares the Roman question definitely and irrevocably settled and therefore eliminated and recognizes the Kingdom of

Italy under the dynasty of the House of Savoy with Rome as the capital of the Italian State."

The newly created City of the Vatican has an area of less than one-sixth of a square mile with a population of several hundred. It is the smallest state on earth. The District of Columbia has an area of seventy square miles and a population of over one-half million.

Thus, a struggle of almost twelve centuries enters upon a new phase with the pope apparently victorious in principle, but vanquished in fact. The throngs which greeted Pope Pius XI on February 12, 1929, hailed him as pope and not as king—"Long live the pope-consoler." "Papa-re" is a term of the hierarchical vocabulary. Indeed, it remains to be seen whether the papacy has not by this concordat with Mussolini become involved in Italian imperialism and whether it has not bartered its international significance for an exceedingly unimportant temporal sovereignty.[16]

[16] In *Current History,* April 1929 pp. 18-24, John Hearley insists that the treaty between the pope and Mussolini makes it impossible for an American Catholic ever to become pope, apparently invites international Roman Catholic support for Mussolini's policies, and entangles the papacy in each shift of Italian world politics. Mr. Hearley also wonders whether the United States can afford to send a representative to the "court of a sovereign claiming infallibility." The advantage seems to be on the side of Mussolini.

On March 14, 1929, Premier Mussolini reported as follows in regard to the treaty, according to the Associated Press.

"One must not forget that the Italian state, which is the Fascist state, has not abandoned any part of its sovereignty. Neither must one fear that the concordat revives in Italy the Middle Ages and all the old situations which modern times had and have eliminated.

"There is revived neither privileged ecclesiastical courts nor right of asylum. Nor is liberty of conscience and sect suppressed. None has sought to revive institutions of other times incompatible with the spirit of modern civilization, which the Catholic Church itself has demonstrated itself able to understand with its admirable spirit of adaptation.

"But the full liberty in the exercise of other cults existing in the state and equality of citizens before the law, whatever religion they profess, is not and could not be touched in the slightest way. We propose to set this fact forth with precise laws guaranteeing in a tangible manner the free exercise of every cult when it is not contrary to public order and the common good, reaffirming a lack of connection between religion and enjoyment of civil and political right of kingdom.

"Concerning public instruction, he said, the concordat agrees that religious teaching, besides being given in the elementary schools, be extended to secondary schools. Ecclesiastical authorities have no rights of interference in the schools, not even regarding religion, with the exception that teachers in this branch must be provided with a certificate of competency from the bishop of the diocese and that books on religion must be approved by the ecclesiastical authorities."

CHAPTER FIVE

The Transformed Roman Catholic Political Theory

MEDIEVAL political theory was controlled by the idea of one society with two functions, one spiritual and eternal, the other temporal and transitory. From the papal point of view the secular arm was subordinate to the spiritual arm. From the monarchical point of view the civil power had been ordained by God Himself. Both the spiritual and the secular powers were within the one church. The medieval politico-ecclesiastical quarrel was between court and curia, between lay and hierarchical officials. Protestantism shifted the balance of power to the state, that is, greatly exalted civil authority in matters of religious significance. The American political theory of separation of church and state was not anticipated by either Roman Catholicism or early regular Protestantism.

On the way to the modern theory of separation of church and state as the solution of the church-state problem, the idea of two perfect societies is en-

countered. This becomes the final Roman Catholic political theory. Its genesis is exceedingly complicated but includes the influence of Aristotle, the decline of the medieval papacy and its subjection to the king of France, the religious chaos occasioned by the Great Schism during which rival popes hurled anathemas at one another, the disintegration of feudalism, the rise of national churches, the application of the principle that the religion of the prince determines that of his subjects, the suggestions of discerning individuals, and the work of the Jesuits. John Calvin, for instance, in 1536, suggested a differentiation between state and church—"the spiritual kingdom of Christ and civil government are things very different and remote from each other." [1]

It was the Society of Jesus which by exerting pressure within Roman Catholicism succeeded in transforming the direct political power of the medieval papacy into the indirect political power of modern times. Thomas Aquinas had been taught the distinction between direct and indirect political power by Aristotle. The Jesuits at once recognized the value of this idea as the Counter Reformation movement progressed. Nationalism seemed to be a fact. Sovereign states actually existed. Feudalism was on the wane. Could not the king be regarded as an earthly

[1] *Institutes,* vol. II, p. 633.

agent deriving his power from his subjects? The many limited states might still be indirectly influenced by the one and eternal church. Let the church be universal, cutting across the various national boundaries. The church is the one universal society; the state is a particular society enclosed within national boundaries. Each is a perfect society. The pope has direct power in temporal affairs only when religious issues are at stake. Augustine, Innocent, and Boniface, however, never thought of the relation between state and church in this wise.

This *via media* of indirect power is especially associated with the name of Cardinal Robert Francis Romulus Bellarmine. Born in 1542, he entered the Society of Jesus at the age of eighteen and in 1581 published the first volume of his great work *Concerning Controversies.* Pope Sixtus V at first warmly welcomed the study but later proposed it for a place on the Index on observing that it assigned the papacy only an indirect power over temporals.[2] Bellarmine's theory is thus summarized, "and so the spiritual power does not mix itself with the affairs of the temporal power, but permits all things to proceed properly as they did before the two powers were connected; provided, of course, that these matters in question do not obstruct the purpose of the spiritual

[2] Catholic Encyclopedia, vol. II, p. 412.

power, or are not necessary for acquiring it." In this way Bellarmine still reserved for the pope the "power of deposing kings, absolving subjects from their allegiance and altering civil laws, when these actions are necessary for the good of the souls committed to the charge of the chief pastor." [3]

Four authoritative statements of modern Roman Catholic political theory follow. The first is by Charles Macksey, who was Professor of Ethics and Natural Right in the Gregorian University at Rome: "The State, then, exists to help man to temporal happiness, the Church, to eternal . . . since, in case of direct collision of the two, God's will and man's need require that the guardian of the lower purpose should yield. Likewise the argument for the extension of the powers of the higher society in a measure into the domain of the lower will not hold for such extension from the lower into the higher. . . . In a word, the State controls its own subjects, in the pursuit of its own natural end, in all things where a

[3] Schaff—Herzog Encyclopedia, vol. II, p. 35. "In the fifth book he [Bellarmine] hath four conclusions. The first is, *that the Pope is not lord of all the world;* the second, *that the Pope is not lord of all the Christian world;* the third, *that the Pope without his own territory, has not any temporal jurisdiction directly.* These three conclusions are easily granted. The fourth is, *that the Pope has in the dominions of other princes, the supreme power indirectly:* which is denied; unless he mean by *indirectly,* that he has gotten it by indirect means, then is that also granted."—Hobbes' *Leviathan,* p. 572.

higher right does not estop it. . . . Purely temporal matter is that which has a necessary relation of help or hindrance to man's temporal happiness. . . . Purely spiritual subject-matter is primarily made up of human acts necessarily related as help or hindrance to man's eternal happiness, the last end of the Church, and at the same time is indifferent in itself as help or hindrance to man's temporal happiness; secondarily it extends to all persons and external objects as are involved in such acts. . . . In all subject-matter . . . both spiritual and temporal in character, both jurisdictions may enter, and so entering give occasion to collision, for which there must be a principle of solution. In case of direct contradiction making it impossible for both jurisdictions to be exercised, the jurisdiction of the Church prevails, and that of the State is excluded . . . the judicial decision as to when a question does or does not involve spiritual matter rests with the Church. . . . In purely temporal matters, while they remain such, the Church cannot command the State any more than she can command the subjects of the State, even though these are at the same time her own subjects. But in spiritual and mixed matters calling for corporate action of the State, the question depends upon whether the physical persons who make up the moral personality of the State are themselves subjects of the Church. In case

they are, then the Church has in consequence jurisdiction therein over the State." [4]

The second statement of modern Roman Catholic political theory is based upon the authorized work by Ryan and Millar, entitled *The State and the Church:* "the Catholic doctrine concedes, nay, maintains, that the State is coördinate with the Church and equally independent and supreme in its own distinct sphere. According to the Catholic position, the Church is superior to the State only in the dignity of its nature and end, and not in those matters that are the peculiar province of the State. . . . In the field of temporal affairs, in all that pertains to civic welfare, the State is supreme, and the Church has neither the desire nor the authority to interfere. . . . While the authority of the State is supreme in civil affairs, it is not in every respect unlimited. It must be exercised in conformity with the moral law. . . . At no point did it [the deposing power of the medieval papacy] involve any claim of direct civil power. . . . The Church has no authority, direct, indirect, or of any sort or description, over the acts of the State, so long as these acts are not in conflict with religion or morality. If any Church official, priest, bishop or Pope were to command Catholics to vote a certain way on

[4] Catholic Encyclopedia, vol. XIV, pp. 250-254.

free trade or income tax or bonds for ex-soldiers or any other political issue that involves no clear moral or religious question, the injunction would properly be disregarded by substantially all to whom it was addressed. . . . The prevailing Catholic view is now, as it has always been, that which is known as the theory of indirect power. . . . All Catholic authorities from Pope Clement V to the present time have interpreted the Bull [of Boniface VIII] as claiming only indirect power in civil matters. . . . 'The indirect power of the Church in matters temporal in general and in relation to the dethroning of princes in particular, is not a temporal but a spiritual power. It is exerted in matters temporal only in so far as they intrench upon religion, and in this way cease to be purely temporal.' "[5]

The third statement of modern Roman Catholic political theory is based on Father Doyle's *The Defense of the Catholic Church.*[6] The author discriminates between the non-Catholic state where the civil and religious authorities are both distinct and separated on one hand and the Catholic State, or "ideal Christian state," where the "civil society professes the true religion of Christ and subjects itself in reli-

[5] Ryan and Millar, *The State and the Church,* pp. 40, 45, 47-49.

[6] P. 275 ff.

gious matters to the teaching and ruling authority of Christ." Even in the latter case where Roman Catholicism is established, Father Doyle observes that there are nevertheless "two distinct jurisdictions, one belonging solely to the civil society and the other belonging solely to the religious society." In case of non-Catholic states "the civil and religious authorities are not only distinct powers with distinct jurisdictions, but they are also legally separated from each other. . . . Thus, the Catholic citizen of the United States will never be in conflict with the Constitution on the one side and Church authority on the other, for the reason that these two jurisdictions are not only distinct, but are, as a matter of fact, separated jurisdictions, made so and preserved so by the Constitution, which the Catholic citizen is or may be bound by oath to support, and which the Church authority at the very least, does not disapprove of in permitting him to take and observe such an oath. In the United States, then, there can be no question of separating Church and State; the two are already separated and are recognized as separated by the Church as well as by the State authorities. Each operates along its own well-defined lines; and when there is any question of the lines converging, the matter will be arbitrated and decided according to the Constitution, which

recognizes and protects the distinct jurisdiction of the religious society." [7]

The fourth statement of modern Roman Catholic political theory is quoted from the famous encyclical letter of Pope Leo XIII promulgated on November 1, 1885, and known as "The Christian Constitution of States": [8] "Every civilized community must have a ruling authority, and this authority, no less than society itself, has its source in nature, and has, consequently, God for its author. Hence it follows that all public power must proceed from God. . . . The right to rule is not necessarily, however, bound up with any special mode of government. It may take this or that form, provided only that it be of a nature to insure the general welfare. . . . No one of several forms of government is in itself condemned. . . . The civil power must not be subservient to the advantage of any one individual or of some few persons, inasmuch as it was established for the common good of all. But if those in authority rule unjustly, if they govern overbearingly or arrogantly, and if their measures prove hurtful to the people, they must remember that the Almighty will one day bring

[7] In footnotes on pp. 278-282, Father Doyle quotes from Cardinal Newman's *Difficulties of Anglicans* and Governor Smith's reply to Mr. Marshall's questions, to substantiate his argument.

[8] See *The Great Encyclical Letters of Leo XIII*, pp. 107-134, or Ryan and Millar, *The State and the Church*, pp. 1-25.

them to account . . . the State . . . is clearly bound to the manifold and weighty duties linking it to God, by the public profession of religion. . . . So, too, it is a sin in a State not to have care for religion, as a something beyond its scope, or as of no practical benefit; or out of many forms of religion to adopt that one which chimes in with its fancy; for we are bound absolutely to worship God in that way which He has shown to be His will . . . the only true religion is the one established by Jesus Christ Himself, and which He committed to His Church to protect and to propagate. . . . Over this mighty multitude God has Himself set rulers with power to govern; and He has willed that one should be the head of all, and the chief and unerring teacher of truth, to whom He has given the keys of the kingdom of heaven. . . . And just as the end at which the Church aims is by far the noblest of ends, so is its authority the most exalted of all authority, nor can it be looked upon as inferior to the civil power, or in any manner dependent upon it. . . . The Almighty, therefore, has appointed the charge of the human race between two powers, the ecclesiastical and the civil, the one being set over divine, the other over human things. Each in its kind is supreme, each has fixed limits within which it is contained, limits which are defined by the nature and special object of the province

of each, so that there is, we may say, an orbit traced out within which the action of each is brought into play by its own native right. . . . There was once a time when States were governed by the principles of gospel teaching. . . . Church and State were happily united in concord and friendly interchange of good offices. The State, constituted in this wise, bore fruits important beyond all expectation, whose remembrance is still and always will be, in renown, witnessed to as they are by countless proofs which can never be blotted out or even obscured by any craft of enemies. . . . Sad it is to call to mind how the harmful and lamentable rage for innovation which rose to a climax in the sixteenth century, threw first of all into confusion the Christian religion, and next, by natural sequence, invaded the precincts of philosophy, whence it spread amongst all classes of society. From this source, as from a fountain-head, burst forth all those later tenets of unbridled license which in the midst of the terrible upheavals of the last century, were widely conceived and boldly proclaimed as the principles and foundations of that new jurisprudence which was not merely previously unknown, but was at variance on many points with not only the Christian but even with the natural law. . . . Amongst these principles the main one lays down that as all men are alike by race and nature, so in like manner

all are equal in control of their life; that each one is so far his own master as to be in no sense under the rule of any other individual; that each is free to think on every subject just as he may choose, and to do whatever he may like to do; that no man has any right to rule over other men. In a society grounded upon such maxims, all government is nothing more or less than the will of the people, and the people, being under the power of itself alone, is alone its own ruler. It does choose nevertheless some to whose charge it may commit itself, but in such wise that it makes over to them not the right so much as the business of governing, to be exercised, however, in its name. . . . Thus . . . a State becomes nothing but a multitude, which is its own master and ruler. . . . Moreover it believes that it is not obliged to make public profession of any religion; or to inquire which of the very many religions is the only one true; or to prefer one religion to all the rest; or to show to any form of religion special favor; but, on the contrary, is bound to grant equal rights to every creed, so that public order may not be disturbed by any particular form of religious belief. . . . And it is a part of this theory that all questions that concern religion are to be referred to private judgment; that everyone is to be free to follow whatever religion he prefers, or none at all if he disapprove of all . . .

everyone has unbounded license to think whatever he chooses and to publish abroad whatever he thinks. . . . The sovereignty of the people, however, and this without any reference to God, is held to reside in the multitude; which is doubtless a doctrine exceedingly well calculated to flatter and to inflame many passions, but which lacks all reasonable proof and all power of insuring public safety and preserving order . . . . The opinion prevails that princes are nothing more than delegates chosen to carry out the will of the people; whence it necessarily follows that all things are as changeable as the will of the people, so that risk of public disturbance is ever hanging over our heads. . . . To hold, therefore, that there is no difference in matters of religion between forms that are unlike each other, and even contrary to each other, most clearly leads in the end to rejection of all religion in both theory and practice. And this is the same thing as atheism. . . . To exclude the Church, founded by God Himself, from the business of life, from the power of making laws, from the training of youth, from domestic society, is a grave and fatal error. A State from which religion is banished can never be well regulated. . . . The Church of Christ is the true and sole teacher of virtue and guardian of morals. . . . To wish the Church to be subject to the civil power in the exercise of her duty

is a great folly and sham in justice. . . . On the question of the separation of Church and State the same pontiff [Gregory XVI] writes as follows: 'Nor can We hope for happier results either for religion or for the civil government from the wishes of those who desire that the Church be separated from the State, and the concord between secular and ecclesiastical authority be dissolved. It is clear that these men, who yearn for a shameless liberty, live in dread of an agreement which has always been fraught with good and advantages alike to sacred and civil interests.' . . . First and foremost, it is the duty of all Catholics worthy of the name and wishful to be known as most loving children of the Church, to reject without swerving whatever is inconsistent with so fair a title; to make use of popular institutions, so far as can be honestly done, for the advancement of truth and righteousness; to strive that liberty of action shall not transgress the bounds marked out by nature and the law of God; to endeavor to bring back all civil society to the pattern and form of Christianity which we have described. . . . Hence, lest concord be broken by rash charges, let this be understood by all, that the integrity of Catholic faith cannot be reconciled with opinions verging on Naturalism or Rationalism, the essence of which is utterly

to sterilize Christianity and to instill in society the supremacy of man to the exclusion of God."

"The Christian Constitution of States" covers twenty-five pages. Almost one-half of the document is devoted to definition and to the review of the glorious period when the church was in union with the state. The remainder of the discourse is a halting criticism of modern political theory. The principle of two distinct and perfect but not separate societies is accepted. Both church and state are perfect societies. Each should recognize and respect the rights and jurisdictions of the other. The pope refuses to endorse personalism, government with the consent of the governed, separation of church and state, and exhorts the faithful to win the modern world back to the medieval point of view.

To summarize, the transformed Roman Catholic political theory lets God rule the world through divine law. This law expresses itself in positive revelation and in nature. Man is immediately related to each of these expressions. For man's destiny is the enjoyment of eternal bliss in the hereafter and therefore he should not merely seek to attain temporal happiness but also attempt to earn his title to eternal bliss. Since the ultimate purpose of man is ministered to by the church alone while both the church and the state are concerned with man's temporal happi-

ness, it follows that the church is superior to the state. Hence the state should aim to promote temporal felicity, to preserve law and order, to promote the higher human development, to recognize and protect the church, and finally to decline to engage in any attempt to exercise either temporal or spiritual sway over the church. The church, on the other hand, should be interested in promoting eternal happiness, in maintaining morals, in observing divine worship, in providing the supernatural means of grace through the mass. Indeed, in principle the church possesses civil authority and cannot be subject to any particular state or be confined within national boundaries. *Everyone validly baptized, whether a member of the Roman Catholic church or not, is under the jurisdiction of that church.* Where moral or religious conflict and collision occur between church and state, both the will of God and man's own need require that the state yield to the Roman Catholic Church.

Descending now from the mountain of Roman Catholic political theory to the plain of the modern situation, it is evident that in practice some four kinds of civil authority are recognized. In a Roman Catholic state all persons would be both subjects and members of the church. In this "ideal Christian state," the civil government would avow the supernatural character of the church, would profess faith, would enact no laws against the church, and would protect the

church. In non-Christian states no type of control over the citizens can be claimed by the church. No Mohammedan, for example, is either a subject or a member of the church. In a Christian but non-Catholic state the church claims jurisdiction over both its members and its subjects but in the latter case cannot enforce it. In mixed states some persons are members of the Roman Catholic Church, some are subjects, and a third group has no relation to the church. The members are under the actual jurisdiction of the church; the subjects are under the jurisdiction of the church in theory; the third class is altogether free from any church control.[9] All of which means, "descending from the domain of abstractions to that of facts," [10] that modern Roman Catholic political theory compromises with the existing situation.

[9] Catholic Encyclopedia, vol. XIV, p. 254.

[10] *The Great Encyclical Letters of Leo XIII*, p. 255. As an illustration of this compromise, compare the pronouncements of Pope Leo XIII quoted above with the criticism which Pope Pius X, in his Encyclical Letter of September 8, 1907, passed upon the modernist contention that church and state be separated: "Every Catholic, from the fact that he is also a citizen, has the right and the duty to work for the common good in the way he thinks best, without troubling himself about the authority of the Church, without paying any heed to its wishes, its counsels, its orders—nay, even in spite of its rebukes. For the Church to trace out, and prescribe for the citizen any line of action, on any pretext whatsoever, is to be guilty of an abuse of authority, against which one is bound to protest with all one's might. *Venerable Brethren, the principles from which these doctrines spring have been solemnly condemned by Our Predecessor, Pius VI, in his Apostolic Constitution Auctorem fidei.*"

CHAPTER SIX

The American Doctrine of the Separation of Church and State

THE political theory that caused the popes of the nineteenth century so much anxiety was American-made. The revolutionary notions that the church may be separated from the state without disgrace or destruction, that religion is a private matter and religious liberty a fundamental right of man, that every person may decide for himself whether to be religious or irreligious, that uniformity in religion signifies hypocrisy, that an unbelieving magistrate may be a more efficient administrator than a believing one, that Christianity does not require governmental support to survive or be popular, were written into law in North America toward the end of the eighteenth century.

How astounding and dangerous this American experiment appeared, two illustrations may indicate. One hails from the year 1862. It is the frank comment of a noted English divine and New Testament scholar upon the American Civil War. It establishes

beyond question that conservative Europeans of the nineteenth century were looking forward to a supreme struggle between autocracy and democracy: "While the war lasts, therefore, I fully sympathize with the South. . . . Some thirty years ago Niebuhr wrote to this effect: 'whatever people may say to the contrary, the American empire is a standing menace to the whole civilization of Europe, and sooner or later one or the other must perish.' Every year has, I think, brought fresh proof of the entire truth of these words. American doctrine (only too well echoed from Europe itself, though felt to be at variance with the institutions of Europe) destroys the root of everything vitally precious which man has by painful growth been learning from the earliest times till now, and tends only to reduce us to the gorilla state. The American empire seems to me mainly an embodiment of American doctrine, its leading principle being lawless force. Surely, if ever Babylon or Rome were rightly cursed, it cannot be wrong to desire and pray from the bottom of one's heart that the American union may be shivered to pieces. This is not wishing ill to Americans, quite the reverse; the breaking of their power as a nation (which has not brought, to the best of my knowledge, one single blessing to mankind) may, we may hope, be the first and needful

step towards their advancement in all higher and nobler respects."[1]

Our second illustration is taken from *Catholicity in the United States* in which Pope Leo XIII wrote: "Yet, though all this is true, it would be very erroneous to draw the conclusion that in America is to be sought the type of the most desirable status of the Church, or that it would be universally lawful or expedient for State and Church to be, as in America, dissevered and divorced."[2]

Two European visitors to the United States have testified that religious freedom has not been detrimental to Christianity. Alexis de Tocqueville looked the United States over in 1831 and thereupon stated that "there is no country in the whole world in which the Christian religion retains a greater influence over the souls of men than in America," while Bryce in his *American Commonwealth* put it: "The Americans are a religious people . . . they have an intelligent interest in the form of faith they profess, are pious without superstition, and zealous without bigotry. . . . The influence of Christianity seems to be, if we look not merely to the numbers but also to the intelligence of the persons influenced, greater and more widespread in the United States than in any

[1] A. F. Hort, *Life and Letters of Fenton J. A. Hort,* vol. I, pp. 458-460.

[2] Ryan and Millar, *The State and the Church,* p. 33.

part of western continental Europe, and I think greater than in England. . . . So far from suffering from the want of state support, religion seems in the United States to stand all the firmer, because, standing alone, she is seen to stand by her own strength. No political party, no class in the community has any hostility either to Christianity or to any particular Christian body. The churches are as thoroughly popular, in the best sense of the word, as any of the other institutions in the country." [3]

Some of the mile-posts on the road to religious liberty and the separation of church and state may now be noted.

It was in 1582 that Robert Browne, who helped found Congregationalism, published his *Treatise of Reformation without Tarrying for Any.* This document clearly discriminates between the separate jurisdictions of state and church: "Yet may they [the magistrates] do nothing concerning the church but only civilly and as civil magistrates; that is, they have not that authority over the church, as to be prophets or priests or spiritual kings . . . but only to rule the commonwealth in all outward justice, to maintain the right, welfare, and honor thereof with outward power, bodily punishment, and civil forcing of men. And

[3] Schaff, *Progress of Religious Freedom,* p. 84; Bryce, *American Commonwealth,* 1888, vol. II, pp. 248, 567 f.

therefore also because the church is in a commonwealth, it is of their charge: that is, concerning the outward provision and outward justice, they are to look to it; but to compel religion, to plant churches by power, and to force a submission to ecclesiastical government by laws and penalties belongeth not to them." [4]

About 1614 some English General Baptists, then sojourning at Amsterdam, in Holland, published a confession of faith, affirming that "the magistrate is not by virtue of his office to meddle with religion, or matters of conscience, to force or compel men to this or that form of religion, or doctrine; but to leave Christian religion free, to every man's conscience and to handle only civil transgressions, injuries, and wrongs of man against man." [5]

On a number of occasions in the early history of the British colonization of North America the "social contract as method of establishing the body politic" was employed. The Mayflower Compact of 1620 may serve as illustration: "We whose names are underwritten . . . having undertaken for the glory of God and advancement of the Christian faith, and honor of our king and country, a voyage to plant the first colony in the Northern parts of Virginia, do by these

[4] W. Walker, *The Creeds and Platforms of Congregationalism*, p. 12.

[5] W. J. McGlothlin, *Baptist Confessions of Faith*, p. 82.

presents solemnly and mutually in the presence of God, and one of another, covenant and combine ourselves together into a civil body politic for our better ordering and preservation and furtherance of the ends aforesaid." [6]

Likewise in the Fundamental Orders of Connecticut, 1639, we read "[we] do therefore associate and conjoin ourselves to be as one public state or commonwealth; and do, for ourselves and our successors and such as shall be adjoined to us at any time hereafter enter into combination and confederation together to maintain and preserve the liberty and purity of the gospel . . . as also in civil affairs to be guided and governed according to such laws, rules, orders, and decrees as shall be made. . . ." [7]

In Rhode Island several compacts were entered into, one of them containing the well-known "we will from time to time subject ourselves in active or passive obedience, to such orders or agreements as shall be made by the greater number" [8] to which "only in civil things" was later added.

The theory of religious liberty as a fundamental right of every human being was courageously defended and advocated by Roger Williams of Rhode Island in two memorable tracts entitled, "The Bloody

[6] P. G. Mode, *Source Book for American Church History*, p. 49.

[7] *Ibid.*, p. 97 f.

[8] *Ibid.*, p. 114 f.

Tenent of Persecution" and "The Bloody Tenent Yet More Bloody." Williams rejected the divine right theory of the state substituting therefor the compact view. Since the state is merely organized society, sovereignty must depend upon the will of the majority. The foundation of all civil power "lies in the people." Government rests upon the consent of the governed. Hence a "people may erect and establish what form of government seems to them most mete for their civil conditions. It is evident that such governments as are by them erected and established, have no more power nor for a longer time, than the civil power or people consisting and agreeing shall betrust them with." [9]

Williams also proposed the separation of church and state and discovered the necessary analogy in corporations. Matters of belief and conditions of membership in a Christian church are not the concern of the civil magistrates. The church is like a corporation which "in matters concerning their society, may dissent, divide, break out into schisms and factions, sue and implead each other at law, yea, wholly break up and dissolve into pieces and nothing, and yet the peace of the city not be in the least measure impaired or disturbed, because the essence or being of the city

[9] R. Williams, "The Bloody Tenent," *Publications of the Narragansett Club*, vol. III, pp. 249, 398.

is essentially distinct from those particular societies. The city was before them and stands resolute and entire when such a corporation or society is taken down." Again "civil magistrates were never appointed by God defenders of the faith." [10]

This contention that religious liberty is a fundamental right of human nature was not at all acceptable to the New England theocracy of the seventeenth century. The Reverend John Cotton did not not believe in democracy: "Democracy, I do not conceyve that ever God did ordeyne as a fit government eyther for Church or Commonwealth. . . . As for monarchy and aristocracy, they are both of them clearly approved, and directed in Scripture." Likewise the Reverend Nathaniel Ward did not approve of liberty of conscience: "It is said that men ought to have Liberty of their Conscience, and that it is Persecution to debar them from it; *I can stand amazed than reply to this.* It is an astonishment to think that the brains of men should be parboiled in such impious, ignorance." [11]

But this Rhode Island radical proceeded to maintain that every man has a right freely to decide whether he desires to be religious or irreligious. Probably it would be more accurate to say that Roger Williams believed that God had decreed that certain

[10] *Ibid.*, p. 73. [11] Strickland, *Roger Williams,* p. 58.

men should be Roman Catholic, others Anglican, still others Baptists, and so forth. But surely man ought not to attempt to reverse the decision of God. Since man must believe as he believes, said Williams, conscience must never be coerced. A man cannot change his convictions just because a magistrate orders him so to do. The employment of coercion in religion is the commanding of God, is overleaping presumption, is rank hypocrisy.

Moreover, a "believing magistrate is no more a magistrate than an unbelieving one; true religion does not need the support of carnal weapons; seducing teachers, either pagan, Jewish, or anti-Christian may yet be obedient subjects to the civil laws; forcing men to worship constitutes the greatest breach of civil peace; civil magistrates owe false worshippers both permission to exist and protection as well." [12]

That diversity in religion is altogether normal and is not at all harmful to society or the state was another hypothesis of Williams: "God required not an uniformity of religion to be enacted and enforced in any civil state, which enforced uniformity, sooner or later, is the greatest occasion of civil war, ravishing of conscience, persecution of Christ Jesus in his servants and of the hypocrisy and destruction of millions

[12] "The Bloody Tenent," *Publications of the Narragansett Club,* vol. III, p. 171.

of souls. . . . It is the will and command of God that . . . a permission of the most paganish, Jewish, Turkish, or anti-Christian consciences and worships be granted to all men in all nations and countries: and they are only to be fought against with that sword which is only in soul matters able to conquer, to wit, the sword of God's spirit, the word of God. . . . True civility, and Christianity may both flourish in a state or kingdom notwithstanding the permission of divers and contrary consciences, either Jew or Gentile."[13]

The seven points of Roger Williams' philosophy of church and state were as follows: 1. The jurisdiction of the civil power does not extend to matters of religious faith, worship, order, discipline, or polity; 2. Churches must not expect governmental support of their worship or institutions; 3. Religious liberty is a fundamental right of every religious group. Not only each and every Christian church or sect but each and every extra-Christian society has equal rights before the law; 4. Religious liberty is a fundamental right of each and every individual. Individual citizens whether Christian or extra-Christian or anti-Christian, whether Catholic or Calvinist, theist or atheist, have the same rights before the law; 5. Religious progress should be based upon the principle of

[13] *Ibid.*, pp. 104, 54, 64, 136, and preface.

voluntariness; 6. The maintenance of a church should be through the contributions of its members; 7. The civil power has the right and duty to intervene in the affairs of any religious society when its overt acts bring the civil peace into jeopardy.

To appreciate the radicalism of Williams, compare the religious freedom of Rhode Island with Dale's Code in Virginia with its death penalty for blasphemy, impious reference to the Trinity, habitual cursing, or third offense against the Sabbath commandment; with its whippings for failure to attend worship and disrespect toward any minister; with its prescription of the study of the articles of faith by every person in the colony.

Several democratic religious groups in England joined in the chorus of Roger Williams' hymn to liberty of conscience.

The Savoy Declaration, a Congregational confession of faith adopted in 1658, in chapter twenty-four said: "Although the magistrate is bound to encourage, promote, and protect the professors and profession of the gospel, and to manage and order civil administrations in a due subserviency to the interest of Christ in the world, and to that end to take care that men of corrupt minds and conversations do not licentiously publish and divulge blasphemy and errors, in their own nature subverting the faith and

inevitably destroying the souls of them that receive them; yet in such differences about the doctrines of the gospel, or ways of the worship of God, as may befall men exercising a good conscience, manifesting it in their conversation, and holding the foundation, not disturbing others in their ways of worship that differ from them, there is no warrant for the magistrate under the gospel to abridge them of their liberty." [14]

Some English Baptists in 1660 affirmed, "that it is the will, and mind of God (in these Gospel times) that all men should have the free liberty of their own consciences in matters of religion, or worship, without the least oppression, or persecution, as simply on that account; and that for any in authority otherwise to act, we confidently believe is expressly contrary to the mind of Christ." [15]

And the following expresses the conviction of the Friends: "Since God hath assumed to himself the power and dominion of the conscience, who alone can rightly instruct and govern it, therefore it is not lawful for any whatsoever, by virtue of any authority or principality they bear in the government of this world, to force the consciences of others; and therefore all killing, banishing, fining, imprisoning, and

[14] Schaff, *Creeds of Christendom*, vol. III, p. 720.
[15] W. J. McGlothlin, *Baptist Confessions of Faith*, p. 119.

other such things, which men are afflicted with, for the alone exercise of their conscience, or difference in worship or opinion, proceedeth from the spirit of Cain, the murderer, and is contrary to the truth; provided always that no man, under the pretense of conscience, prejudice his neighbor in his life or estate, or do anything destructive to, or inconsistent with human society; in which case the law is for the transgressor, and justice, to be administered upon all, without respect of persons." [16]

About one hundred fifty years after the founding of Rhode Island, Virginia was ready for its experiment in religious freedom. In 1776 the state convention of Virginia, separating from the mother country and organizing a new government, adopted the Bill of Rights. The sixteenth section of this in its proposed final form read: "Religion, or the duty that we owe our Creator, and the manner of discharging it, can be directed only by reason and conviction and not by force or violence; and, therefore, all men are equally entitled to the full and free exercise of religion, according to the dictates of conscience; and it is the mutual duty of all to practice Christian forbearance, love, and charity towards each other." But Madison continued to protest until Virginia was ready to declare that "no man, or class of men, ought

[16] Schaff, *Creeds of Christendom,* vol. III, p. 797, A. D. 1675.

on account of religion to be invested with peculiar emoluments or privileges, nor be subjected to any penalties or disabilities, unless under the color of religion the preservation of equal liberty and the existence of the State are manifestly endangered." [17]

In 1777 Jefferson prepared his "Act Establishing Religious Freedom." Eight years later the house of representatives passed it by a vote of sixty-seven to twenty. In 1786 it became a law. Omitting the classic preamble of this charter of human liberty, we quote its provisions: "No man shall be compelled to frequent or support any religious worship, place, or ministry whatever; nor shall be enforced, restrained, molested, or burdened in his body or goods, nor shall otherwise suffer on account of his religious opinions or belief; but all men shall be free to profess, and by argument to maintain their opinions in matters of religion, and the same shall in no wise diminish, enlarge, or affect their civil capacities." [18]

Since this act was only an enactment of the legislature rather than an amendment to the constitution and since some legislature might in the future be tempted to tamper with this verdict in favor of religious freedom, the Virginia legislature of 1785 sounded the warning that "the rights hereby asserted

[17] Cobb, *The Rise of Religious Liberty in America*, p. 491 ff.
[18] *World Almanac*, 1928, p. 409.

are of the natural rights of mankind, and that, if any act shall hereafter be passed to repeal the present law or to narrow its operation, such act will be an infringement of natural right."

In 1787 Virginia applied the principle of religious liberty to the entire Northwestern Territory, guaranteeing that "no person, demeaning himself in a peaceable and orderly manner, shall ever be molested on account of his mode of worship or his religious sentiments, in said territory."

In that same year the convention which formulated the Constitution of the United States met. Only sixty per cent of its delegates finally affixed their signatures to the document. Its ratification by the thirteen original states was long delayed. The vote in its favor was often a scant majority. The government created by the ratification of the Constitution began to function on March 4, 1789. Two years later the first ten amendments to the Constitution were declared adopted. The sixth article and the first amendment of the Constitution of the United States contain religious references, namely, "no religious test shall ever be required as a qualification to any office or public trust under the United States" and "Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof."

The former of these statements is concerned with

religious freedom only in respect to federal office-holding and trusts; the latter prohibits the establishment of a federal religion and federal interference with religious freedom. Only the Congress of the United States is forbidden to interfere in matters involving religion. The federal government proclaims its neutrality in regard to religious issues. But the several states do not hereby agree to a similar neutrality. The federal constitution silently consents to the determination of religious questions by the several commonwealths.

It is instructive to observe the religious situation in the thirteen original states during the period of the formation of the American union and thereafter. At the beginning of the revolutionary period Pennsylvania had "restrictive legislation unsurpassed by that of any other colony." The franchise and offices were limited to believers in Jesus Christ as savior of the world. Those who refused to believe in the orthodox doctrine of the Trinity and Romanists were on the proscribed list. In 1776 civil rights were restricted to persons "who acknowledged the being of God" and officeholders had to affirm: "I do believe in one God, the creator and governor of the universe, the rewarder of the good and the punisher of the wicked; and I do acknowledge the scriptures of the Old and New Testaments to be given by divine in-

spiration." The constitution of 1790 made "acknowledgment of Almighty God" and belief in a "future state of rewards and punishments" prerequisites to freedom of religion. In the constitution of Pennsylvania, 1873, section four of the declaration of rights read: "No person who acknowledges the being of a God and a future state of rewards and punishments shall, on account of his religious sentiments, be disqualified to hold any office or place of trust or profit under this commonwealth."

While in Massachusetts the theocracy had vanished and dissenting worship was permitted long before the Revolutionary War, it was 1833 ere the Congregational Church was finally disestablished.

Regarding the situation in Virginia it need merely be added to what has been said that while at the beginning of the Revolutionary War there were ninety-one ministers of the established church, at its close there were only twenty-eight. And there was much excitement under the liberal leadership, especially of Jefferson and Madison, until in 1797 all acts nullifying the bill of rights were repealed.

The constitution submitted to the people of New Hampshire in 1779 contained this reference to religion, "The future legislation of this state shall make no laws to infringe the rights of conscience, or any other of the natural, unalterable rights of men, or

contrary to the laws of God, or against the Protestant religion." This constitution was not approved. In 1912 New Hampshire adopted a revised constitution with this declaration in the bill of rights, "the people of this state have a right to empower, and do hereby empower, the legislature to authorize, from time to time, the several towns, parishes, bodies corporate, or religious societies within this state to make adequate provision, at their own expense, for the support and maintenance of public Protestant teachers of piety, religion, and morality . . . no person of any one particular religious sect or denomination shall ever be compelled to pay towards the support of the teacher or teachers of another persuasion, sect or denomination." [19]

It was 1816 ere Connecticut repealed the act penalizing non-attendance upon the worship of the church. The constitution of 1818 ordained "that the exercise and enjoyment of religious profession and worship, without discrimination shall forever be free to all persons in this state. No preference shall be given by any law to Christian sect or mode of worship."

New York State separated religion from civic interference and in 1784 excluded clergymen from public office and demanded that all persons naturalized adjure all foreign allegiance "ecclesiastical as well as

[19] Kettleborough, *State Constitutions*, p. 905.

civil." The constitution of 1894 guarantees the "free exercise and enjoyment of religious profession and worship, without discrimination or preference." But liberty of conscience must not be so construed as to "justify practices inconsistent with the peace or safety of this state."

In 1776 New Jersey declared religious worship free but confined office to "persons professing a belief in the faith of any Protestant sect." Later constitutions of New Jersey declare against the establishment of any religion, civil disqualification on account of religion or lack of religion, and compulsory maintenance of religious institutions and worship.

In 1776 Delaware in its constitution affirmed that "all persons professing the Christian religion ought forever to enjoy equal rights and privileges." But the oath of office included a declaration of faith in the Trinity and the divine inspiration of the Scriptures. In 1831 Delaware abolished religious tests.

In 1775 Maryland extended the franchise to "all freemen having an estate of £40 without religious distinction." But this applied only to distinctions within Christianity. Two years later the beginnings of disestablishment appear. The constitution of 1867 still declares belief in the existence of God essential to taking of an oath, to service as juror, and to the holding of "any office of profit or trust."

North Carolina granted freedom of conscience but imposed religious qualifications upon office holding. According to the constitution of 1876, "all men have a natural and unalienable right to worship Almighty God according to the dictates of their own consciences, and no human authority should, in any case whatsoever, control or interfere with the rights of conscience."

In 1778 South Carolina established the "Christian Protestant religion." Chapter XXXVIII of its constitution was unique. A dozen years later the Protestant establishment was abolished and Roman Catholics enfranchised. The constitution of 1895 says very briefly, "the General Assembly shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion or prohibiting the free exercise thereof," thus incorporating the religious clause of the first amendment to the Constitution of the United States.

In 1777 the constitution of Georgia upheld freedom of conscience but imposed membership in a Protestant church upon members of the legislature. The constitution of 1877 declares in favor of complete religious liberty and forbids the devotion of any money from the public treasury to the aid, directly or indirectly, "of any church, sect, or denomination of religionists, or of any sectarian institution."

In spite of the centralizing tendency so characteris-

tic of the United States during the nineteenth and the twentieth centuries, no further amendment involving religion has been added to the federal constitution. Moreover, the decisions of the courts in cases concerned with religion have not been at all uniform in the several states. Some courts have interpreted Christianity as a part of the common law of the country. The law has tolerated religious creeds offensive to morality until the commission of licentious acts has necessitated interference. Over twenty states have felt obliged to enact laws against licentiousness under the appeal to religion. In general the internal management of religious societies has been regarded as the affair of the religious body. Religious confessions have not been universally considered privileged. Church property has been exempted from taxation and protected against diversion. A number of states, such as Arkansas, Maryland, Mississippi, North Carolina, Pennsylvania, South Carolina, Tennessee, Texas, still impose religious qualifications for state offices. Sometimes the suffrage, service as juror, and competency to witness in a court of land are bound up with religious requirements.

Bible reading in the public schools may serve as illustration of the varied interpretation of religion

in the several states of the American union.[20] A number of states including Alabama, Georgia, Massachusetts, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, and Tennessee prescribe the reading of the Bible in the public school. The amount differs and in New Jersey the Bible is the Old Testament. A number of states, Indiana, Iowa, Kansas, North Dakota, Oklahoma, and South Dakota, have laws specifically permitting the reading of the Bible. In some twenty-three states Bible reading is practiced because of a favorable court or administrative decision or by reason of the law's silence.

On the other hand, some states, such as Arizona, Idaho, Louisiana, Nevada, Washington, and Wyoming, prohibit Bible reading in the public schools, while adverse decisions have been rendered in Illinois, Wisconsin, Michigan, Minnesota, and New York beyond New York City.

In general, the constitutions of the several states forbid the appropriation of public funds for religious purposes, sectarian teaching in public schools, and religious requirements for matriculation in state schools and universities.

The Constitution of the United States left the settlement of religious questions to the several states. There are manifold differences in interpretation

[20] The situation in 1922 according to N. R. Hood, Bureau of Education *Bulletin*, 1923, No. 15.

among the forty-eight states. And yet general agreement has been achieved along a number of lines, as suggested in the following paragraphs.

The constitution of every state contains a statement that all sovereignty ultimately resides in the people. The constitution of Virginia puts it briefly, "all power is vested in, and consequently derived from, the people; magistrates are their trustees and servants, and at all times amenable to them." The constitution of Pennsylvania puts it more elaborately, "All power is inherent in the people and all free governments are founded on their authority and instituted for their peace, safety, and happiness. For the advancement of these ends they have at all times an inalienable and indefeasible right to alter, reform, or abolish their government in such manner as they may think proper." And so say all the forty-eight constitutions. This is the tap-root of American political theory. Sovereignty does not depend upon hierarchy or church.

Separation of church and state must exist at least to the extent of not establishing any religion or church. The possible exception is New Hampshire. But even here local establishment is practically annulled by hedging conditions.

The maintenance of religious institutions, officers, and worship depends upon voluntary support of an

interested constituency. No one can be coerced by law into contributing to church, Sunday school, or circle.

Membership in and attendance upon religious services are likewise voluntary.

Religion may be freely practiced except where overt acts of licentiousness or fanaticism interfere with the general tranquillity and safety of the state and its citizenry.

As a rule the constitutions of the several states have religious equality and liberty in view rather than religious toleration. In the United States the principle that religious liberty is a fundamental human right has conquered.

Usually the state constitutions make no distinction between the different types of Christianity and religion in general.

The propagation of any type of religion is free. This element of freedom is basic to every consideration, as suggested above, wherein the several state constitutions agree as to the relationship of church to state.

An interesting fact has to do with the changes made in several Protestant confessions of faith in consequence of the establishment of the republic of the United States. Whereas some of these inherited confessions of faith conforming to the political situa-

tion in England originally contained articles affirming the right of the state to interfere in religious questions, revisions were now adopted harmonizing them with the doctrine of the separation of church and state. Thus the American Presbyterian Revision of the Westminster Confession of Faith contains these sentences: ". . . it is the duty of civil magistrates to protect the Church of our common Lord, without giving the preference to any denominations of Christians above the rest, in such a manner that all ecclesiastical persons whatever shall enjoy the full, free, and unquestioned liberty of discharging every part of their sacred functions, without violence or danger. And, as Jesus Christ has appointed a regular government and discipline in his Church, no law of any commonwealth should interfere with, let, or hinder the due exercise thereof, among the voluntary members of any denomination of Christians, according to their own profession and belief." [21]

Likewise, the American Revision of the Thirty-nine Articles states that "the Power of the Civil Magistrate extendeth to all men, as well Clergy as Laity, in all things temporal; but hath no authority in things purely spiritual. And we hold it to be the duty of all men who are professors of the Gospel,

[21] Schaff, *Creeds of Christendom,* vol. III, p. 720.

to pay respectful obedience to the Civil Authority, regularly and legitimately constituted." [22]

To conclude, the United States government is "by the law of its being absolutely prevented" from entering into union with any church or sect. Indeed, the Supreme Court of the United States has eloquently affirmed that "the law knows no heresy, and is committed to the support of no dogma, and the establishment of no sect." [23] By federal and state constitutions, by innumerable court decisions, by more than a century and one-half of experience, by sentiment, by conviction, by Mayflower Compact, by public education, by the modern environment, by their knowledge of history, the people of the United States are eternally committed to the principles of religious liberty and the separation of church and state. This doctrine has attained its majority. It would risk an old-fashioned papal anathema. "We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal, that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable Rights, that among these are Life, Liberty, and the pursuit of Happiness. That to secure these rights, Governments are instituted among Men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed."

[22] *Ibid.*, vol. III, p. 512.

[23] Cf. C. C. Marshall, *The Roman Catholic Church and the Modern State*, p. 205.

CHAPTER SEVEN

"Americanism"

NO LAYMAN belonging to any church or religious cult, whether he be Christian, Jew, Mohammedan, Bahaist, Hindu, Brahman, Confucianist, Shintoist, has ever been able to comprehend the theological system he supports. What Calvinist appreciates the distinction between supralapsarianism and infralapsarianism or can recite the five points of Calvinism? What Lutheran would care to be examined in public on the contents of the *Book of Concord?* How many Baptist ministers, to say nothing regarding Baptist laymen, have read the Philadelphia Confession of Faith? What Swedenborgian can discriminate between ordinary allegorical and his own "correspondential" interpretation of the Bible? Not every member of the International Bible Students Association has mastered the "Divine Plan of the Ages" or "The Corroborative Testimony of God's Stone Witness and Prophet, the Great Pyramid in Egypt." Probably a few Christian Scientists have failed to read the *Miscellaneous Writings of Mary*

B. G. Eddy. After four centuries of free access to the Bible, the Protestant mind is largely ignorant of its history and message.

Similarly the ordinary adherent of Roman Catholicism is unfamiliar with many of the fine discriminations indulged in by the theorists of the faith. He does not know the history of his church or of the councils that determined its theology. He could not quote, much less explain, the symbol of Chalcedon or the clause reading "one and the same Christ, Son, Lord, Onlybegotten, to be acknowledged in two natures, inconfusedly, unchangeably, indivisibly, inseparably; the distinction of natures being by no means taken away by the union, but rather the property of each nature being preserved, and concurring in one Person and one Subsistence, not parted or divided into two persons, but one and the same Son, and only begotten, God the Word, the Lord Jesus Christ." He has not carefully studied the eighty points of the papal syllabus of errors. He has not read all the encyclical letters of even the nineteenth century popes. Much less is he acquainted with the tortuous story of the papacy which politically is "the survival of the Roman conception of universal sovereignty. The world on which Christianity entered was Roman; the world religion which was to leaven it was necessarily cast in the mould and bore the stamp of Rome. First

this religion projected the idea of the empire into the other world; then, as it were, going back on itself, it attempted to realize the projection in this. The result was the imposing structure of Roman Catholicism culminating in the papacy; only so is it formally and actually complete." [1]

[1] Hastings' Encyclopedia of Religion and Ethics, vol. IX, p. 620.

"A few years ago, an enlightened French Catholic wrote a remarkable essay in the *Revue des Deux Mondes*. I will quote some of his expressions, with the thoughts which they suggested to me, just as they come to mind.

" 'France is the most orthodox country in the world, because in matters of religion the most indifferent. Catholicism, as it is, gives us just what we want: a comprehensive religion, a religion full of myths, superstitions, and absurdities; and, on the other hand, full of profound ideas, significant ritual, and flourishing symbolism; invested with an artistic charm, and yet of an ascetic character; adapted to every kind of mood or temper, while still retaining all the rings of historical growth in its mighty trunk. Doubts and soul-tormenting questions there are none; and when they arise, authority at once steps in. But no one, and least of all an educated layman, is expected to assimilate this enormous system of religion as an intellectual possession, and regard it with faith. On the contrary, towards it and in it, all attitudes are possible and tolerable; and even the scoffer observes a side of it which reduces his sneers to silence. Here, then, every individuality finds its account; a woman lives herself into it otherwise than a man; the believer takes to it in one way, the free-thinker in another; for he too respects it, and he smiles. The priests are alone charged with keeping the whole of it in force, and this is impossible if they are not initiated into the system when they are young, and kept from the influence of modern culture, and more especially of science. The education given in the seminaries is, therefore, just the right thing. Above all things, don't let us have an intellectual religion; it would immediately begin to make claims, and try to master the heads and consciences of men. This, says the

The Roman Catholic layman is no exception to the theological frailty which is the common brand of the laity. It would be just as easy to demonstrate that hopeless diversity of opinion is characteristic of the hierarchy. For example, Augustine, bishop of Hippo, thoroughly believed in religious coercion, but Bishop Ketteler of Mayence said that the "Church so thoroughly respects freedom of conscience as to repudiate all outward coercion of those beyond her pale as immoral and utterly unlawful; that nothing is farther from her mind than to employ any physical force against those who, as being baptized, are her members." [2]

But such an investigation of diversified views would take us too far afield. The discussion must be limited to just one Roman Catholic variation, namely "Americanism." It has afflicted both laity and hierarchy.

More than three decades before the signing of the

Catholic, is what happens in Protestantism, which is, accordingly, narrow, limited, presumptuous, and importunate. Protestantism demands that everyone shall believe the same thing, and really believe in his inmost heart everything that the Church believes, and by it regulate his whole view of the world and the conduct of his life. That is just the reason why it is so divided and politically so powerless,—a mere refuge for perverse and narrow minds. How large is Catholicism in comparison, how universal and how elastic.' "—Harnack's *Thoughts on Present Position of Protestantism*, p. 47 ff.

[2] Janus, *The Pope and the Council*, p. 18 f.

Declaration of Independence a "grave controversy" arose in Florida between the native American priesthood and the religious imported from Spain.[3] The period 1829-1852 is called the "period of native Americanism" by Father O'Gorman. Trustees of various prominent Roman Catholic churches, influenced by the democratic movement all about them, claimed the right to nominate and elect and confer jurisdiction upon their priests. Occasionally they resisted the decision of the pope "as of foreign jurisdiction." Indeed, Bishop Carroll fought for the independence of the American church from all control save that of the Holy See, and the "pope granted the American hierarchy the right of recommending suitable persons for vacancies in the episcopate." [4]

Bishop England was tinged with Americanism. He was in Ireland when nominated for the see of Charleston, covering North Carolina, South Carolina and Georgia. He forthwith decided to become an American citizen. Battling for temperance and against dueling, he made such an impression upon his contemporaries that in 1826 he was invited to speak before the Congress of the United States. Never before had a Catholic priest been so honored.

[3] Thomas O'Gorman, *The American Church History Series,* vol. IX, p. 42.

[4] *Ibid.,* pp. 297, 303.

His ringing defense of the Constitution of the United States has been preserved in the annals of his church. "Let the Pope and the Cardinals and all the powers of the Catholic world united make the least encroachment on that Constitution, we will protect it with our lives. Summon a General Council—let that Council interfere in the mode of our electing but an assistant to a turnkey of a prison—we deny the right, we reject the usurpation." [5]

From among the many prelates who have walked in the footsteps of Carroll and of England, we select a trio—Hecker, Ireland, Gibbons—for further study.

Isaac Thomas Hecker was born in New York City in 1819 and died in 1888. At twenty-five years of age he was baptized into the Roman Catholic church by Bishop McCloskey. Two years later he joined the "Congregation of the Most Holy Redeemer" from which he was released in 1858. In that same year he founded the Paulist Fathers, that is, the "Congregation of the Missionary Priests of Saint Paul the Apostle, the sole religious congregation of clerics which is of American origin."[6] "Personal perfection and zeal for souls outside the Catholic faith" form the twofold aim of the organization.

[5] *Atlantic Monthly*, May, 1927, p. 726.
[6] Americana, vol. 21, p. 420.

The well-known "Question Box" of Father Conway is one of the fruits of the Paulist propaganda.

In 1885 Pope Leo XIII published *The Christian Constitution of States* in which he dealt none too kindly with the great American principle of the separation of church and state. When Cardinal Gibbons took possession of his titular church in the Eternal City a couple of years later, he daringly defended the United States: "For myself, as a citizen of the United States, and without closing my eyes to our shortcomings as a nation, I say with a deep sense of pride and gratitude that I belong to a country where the civil government holds over us the ægis of its protection without interfering with us in the legitimate exercise of our sublime mission as ministers of the Gospel of Christ. Our country has liberty without license, and authority without despotism. . . . But while we are acknowledged to have a free government, perhaps we do not receive the credit that belongs to us for having also a strong government. Yes, our nation is strong, and her strength lies . . . in the majesty and supremacy of the law, in the loyalty of her citizens, and in the affection of her people for her free institutions." [7]

Father Hecker employed the address of Cardinal Gibbons as a text for an article upon American in-

[7] Hecker, *The Church and the Age*, p. 101 f.

stitutions. After commending the American prelate for his bravery in uttering his convictions in the very center of Christendom, he continued: "Americans do not want the pope, at the head of the most august assembly in the world, representing the whole Christian Church, to speak in favor of empires, monarchies, or republics: that we do not want . . . it is an error, radical and gross, to say that the basis of the American character is the spirit of political and religious rebellion. The character that is formed by the institutions of our country and the Catholic character are not antagonistic. American institutions tend to develop independence—personal independence and love of liberty. Christianity rightly understood is sure to foster these qualities. . . . We do not need the imperial or kingly ideas of the Old World as aids to our spiritual life as Catholics, any more than we want its anarchical ideas as helps to civil freedom as citizens. Neither do we wish to plant our American ideas in the soil of other nations . . . there is one wish the American Catholic cherishes in respect to his fellow Catholics abroad: he wants to be rightly understood, and that is a wish not easily granted." [8]

But it was after his death that Father Hecker became significant throughout his church for his Americanism. The thrilling story is told in the language of

[8] *Ibid.*, pp. 103, 107, 109.

the sources lest the least suspicion of inaccuracy attach to the narrative.

"It happened not long after Father Hecker's death that several distinguished prelates—Cardinal Gibbons, Archbishop Ireland, Archbishop Keane, at one time rector of the Catholic University at Washington, Monsignor O'Connell, at one time rector of the American College at Rome, Monsignor O'Gorman, bishop of Sioux Falls, South Dakota, Archbishop Kain of St. Louis—began to represent in the public mind, rightly or wrongly, a certain set of ideas and a certain line of conduct, which were more closely connected with a sympathy with American institutions and with American independence than the public, at least the Protestant public, had expected to find among the high officers of the Catholic Church."[9]

Archbishop Ireland of St. Paul penned an amazing introduction to Walter Elliott's *Life of Father Hecker,* published in 1891. In it the eloquent prelate wrote: "If it be permitted to speak of self, I might say that to Father Hecker I am indebted for most salutary impressions. . . . I am glad to have the opportunity to profess publicly my gratitude to him. . . . To the priests of the future, I recommend a serious study of Father Hecker's life.

[9] H. D. Sedgwick, *Father Hecker,* p. 139 f., based on Father Elliott's *Life of Father Hecker.*

"Father Hecker was the typical American priest; his were the gifts of mind and heart that go to do great work for God and for souls in America at the present time. Those qualities, assuredly, were not lacking in him which are the necessary elements of character of the good priest and the subsoil of priestly culture, and with the absence of them no one will succeed in America any more than elsewhere. But suffice they do not. There must be added over and above, the practical intelligence and the pliability of will to understand one's surroundings, the ground upon which he is to deploy his forces, and to adapt himself to circumstances and opportunities as Providence appoints. . . . I write as I think and the responsibility must be all my own. It is as clear to me as noon-day light that countries and peoples have each their peculiar needs and aspirations as they have their peculiar environments, and that if we would enter into souls and control them, we must deal with them according to their condition. The ideal line of conduct for the priest in Assyria will be out of all measure in Mexico or Minnesota. . . .

"The circumstances of Catholics have been peculiar in the United States, and we have unavoidably suffered on this account. Catholics in largest numbers were Europeans, and so were their priests, many of whom—by no means all—remained in heart and

mind and mode of action as alien to America as if they had never been removed from the Shannon, the Loire, or the Rhine. . . . Priests foreign in disposition and work were not fitted to make favorable impressions upon the non-Catholic American population, and the American-born children of Catholic immigrants were likely to escape their action. And, lest I be misunderstood, I assert all this is as true of priests coming from Ireland as from any other foreign country. Even priests of American ancestry, ministering to immigrants, not infrequently fell into the lines of those around them, and did but little to make the Church in America throb with American life. Not so Isaac Thomas Hecker. Whether consciously or unconsciously I do not know, and it matters not, he looked on America as the fairest conquest for divine truth, and he girded himself with arms shaped and tempered to the American pattern. I think it may be said that the American current, so plain for the last quarter of a century in the flow of Catholic affairs, is, largely at least, to be traced back to Father Hecker and his early coworkers. It used to be said of them in reproach that they were the 'Yankee' Catholic Church; the reproach was their praise."

Elliott's *Life of Father Hecker* containing this un-

usual introduction received the *imprimatur* of Archbishop Corrigan.

To understand what follows it is necessary to appreciate the religious situation in France during the closing years of the nineteenth century. That Catholic nation was losing its fervor for the faith. A group of devoted young French priests began to study the causes underlying the approaching disaster. They discovered two, the clerical hostility to the Republic and the church's inability to adapt itself to the modern age. They began to emphasize social Christianity. They looked to America for inspiration. The biography of Father Hecker was translated into French. It became a best seller. This was in 1897. When Monsignor O'Connell in the same year advocated Hecker's ideals at a European Catholic congress, the conservatives were stirred to action. A French book attacked the new movement. Pressure was brought to bear upon Pope Leo XIII, who early in 1899 addressed an apostolical letter to Cardinal Gibbons:[10] "You are aware, beloved Son, that the book entitled 'The Life of Isaac Thomas Hecker,' chiefly through the action of those who have undertaken to publish and interpret it in a foreign language, has excited no small controversy on account of certain

[10] Encyclopædia Britannica, vol. XIII, p. 195.

opinions which are introduced concerning the manner of leading a Christian life." [11]

The pope continued with a condemnation of the attempt to adapt the church to advancing civilization, of the neglect and suppression of Catholic doctrines, and of the "disparagement of the value of religious orders in the present age. Hence, from all that We have hitherto said, it is clear, Beloved Son, that We cannot approve the opinions which some comprise under the head of Americanism. . . . For it raises the suspicion that there are some among you who conceive of and desire a church in America different from that which is in the rest of the world." [12]

Cardinal Gibbons and various members of the American hierarchy replied in conciliatory tone, denying the existence of the criticized tendencies. Elliott's *Life of Father Hecker* was not condemned. "The disturbance caused by the condemnation was slight; almost the entire laity, and a considerable part of the clergy, never understood what the noise was about. The affair was soon forgotten, but the result was to strengthen the hands of the conservatives in France." [13]

Archbishop Ireland defended Americanism not merely at home but also abroad. He, like Hecker

[11] *The Great Encyclical Letters of Leo XIII*, p. 441.
[12] *Ibid.*, p. 452.
[13] Encyclopædia Britannica, vol. XIII, p. 195.

and Gibbons, regarded Catholicism and Americanism as in complete agreement. He even went so far as to promote the consolidation of the Roman Catholic parochial schools and the public schools in Faribault and Stillwater, Minnesota. The conditions were the retention of the Catholic teachers and the assignment of hours for religious instruction. He was accused of favoring the "godless schools" of the republic, and the plan was abandoned.

On August 11, 1913, at Milwaukee, Wisconsin, Archbishop Ireland outlined his political creed: "To priest, to bishop, or to Pope, who—I am willing to consider the hypothesis—should attempt to rule in matters civil and political, to influence the citizen beyond the range of their own orbit of jurisdiction—that of the things of God, the answer is quickly made: 'Back to your own sphere of rights and duties—back to the things of God!' America declared itself a Republic; its government is organized democracy. In America, according to the teachings of the Catholic Church, the republic is the sole legitimate government; to the republic, Catholics are in conscience obliged to yield sincere and unswerving obedience. Would we alter, if we could, the Constitution in regard to its treatment of religion, the principles of Americanism in regard to religious freedom? I answer an emphatic NO. Common sense is ours. Com-

mon justice is also ours. The broad fact is that the American people are divided in matters of religious belief. To the American people, to the whole people, does the country belong. What else, then, could the framers of the Constitution have done . . . but solemnly . . . decree . . . equal rights to all—rights to all, privileges to none? Necessarily religious freedom is the basic life of America. Of the American people this must be said . . . a people more deeply penetrated with the sense of civic and political justice, more generous in concession of rights, where rights belong, more respectful of their every brother, their every fellow citizen, is not in existence on the broad surface of the globe. To put a Catholic into office merely because he is a Catholic, though otherwise unworthy and incapable, is a crime against America, a sin against Almighty God." [14]

Throughout his long career Cardinal Gibbons demonstrated that he was not ashamed of "Americanism." In his *Faith of Our Fathers,* which was printed in so many editions, he affirmed that "Conversion and coercion are two terms that can never be reconciled. 'Above all,' Archbishop Fénelon of Cambrai writes, 'never force your subjects to change their religion. No human power can reach the un-

[14] See Ryan and Millar, *The State and the Church,* pp. 283, 287, 293, 294.

penetrable recess of the free will of the heart. Violence can never persuade men; it serves only to make hypocrites. Grant civil liberty to all, not in approving everything as indifferent, but in tolerating with patience whatever Almighty God tolerates, and endeavoring to convert men by mild persuasion.' . . . If Catholics should gain the majority in a community where freedom of conscience is already secured to all by law, their very religion obliges them to respect the rights thus acquired by their fellow citizens." [15]

Referring to his "characteristically American" speech at Rome when he took possession of his titular church, Cardinal Gibbons said, "I was surprised at my own audacity, but it was in me and I had to say it." Several further occasions presented themselves for a display of the same courage, as when he apologized for the rights of American Catholic workmen incorporated in the Knights of Labor or opposed the appointment of an apostolic delegate to the United States.[16] To the surprise of many, Cardinal Gibbons made the preliminary address at the Parliament of Religions in Chicago, 1893, while his main speech was read by Bishop Keane. The list of speakers at this parliament included Mr. Mozoomdar, High Priest Shibata, Mr. Vivekananda, Rabbi Isaac M. Wise,

[15] Pp. 265, 267, 269.

[16] A. S. Will, *Life of Cardinal Gibbons*, vol. I, pp. 319, 332 ff, 466 ff.

Z. Noguchi, Kung Hsien Ho, Chandradat Chudhadarn, and Rabbi Gottheil. The relativity of the various religions of the world began to be keenly felt. Among the Bible texts employed by the editor of the proceedings of the parliament are these: "Have we not all one Father? Hath not one God created us? —Is God the God of the Jews only? Is He not the God of the nations also? Yea, of the nations also.— God is no respecter of persons: but in every nation he that feareth Him and worketh righteousness, is acceptable to Him—And He made of one every nation of men for to dwell on all the face of the earth, having determined their appointed seasons, and the bounds of their habitation; that they should seek God, if haply they might feel after Him, though He is not far from each one of us." Pope Leo XIII felt obliged to forbid Catholics to participate in mixed congresses like the parliament of religion.[17]

Some of the pronouncements of Cardinal Gibbons on church and state bear repetition: "We repudiate with earnestness the assertion that we need to lay aside any of our devotedness to our Church, to be true Americans; the insinuation that we need to abate any of our love for our country's principles and institutions to be faithful Catholics."[18] "The separation of Church and State in this country seems to Catholics

[17] *Ibid.*, p. 569 ff. [18] *Ibid.*, p. 252.

the natural, the inevitable, and best conceivable plan, the one that would work best among us, both for the good of religion and of the state. Suppose, it is said, the Pope were to issue commands in purely civil matters, should not Catholics be found to yield him obedience? The Pope will take no such act, we know, even though it is a part of Catholic faith that he is infallible in the exercise of his authority; but were he to do so, he would stand self-condemned, a transgressor of the law he himself promulgates. He would be offending not only against civil society, but against God, and violating an authority as truly from God as His own. Any Catholic who clearly recognized this, would not be bound to obey the Pope; or rather his conscience would bind him absolutely to disobey, because with Catholics conscience is the supreme law, which under no circumstances can we ever lawfully disobey. American Catholics rejoice in our separation of Church and State; and I can conceive no combination of circumstances likely to arise which should make a union desirable either to Church or State. It is true indeed that we have no official union of Church and State in this country. But we are not to infer from this fact that there is any antagonism between the civil and religious authorities nor does it imply any indifference to religious principles. Far from it. Church and State move in parallel lines.

The State throws over the Church the mantle of its protection, without interfering with the God-given rights of conscience; and the Church on her part renders valuable aid to the State, in upholding the civil laws by religious and moral sanctions." [19]

But all of these Roman Catholic apologies for "Americanism" fade into insignificance when compared with the superlative confession of political and religious faith broadcast by Governor Smith two years ago: "I summarize my creed as an American Catholic. I believe in the worship of God according to the faith and practice of the Roman Catholic Church. I recognize no power in the institutions of my Church to interfere with the operations of the Constitution of the United States or the enforcement of the law of the land. I believe in the absolute freedom of conscience for all men and in equality of all churches, all sects, and all beliefs before the law as a matter of right and not as a matter of favor. I believe in the absolute separation of Church and State and in the strict enforcement of the provisions of the Constitution that Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion or prohibiting the free exercise thereof. I believe that no tribunal of any church has any power to make any decree of any

[19] James Cardinal Gibbons, *A Retrospect of Fifty Years*, vol. I, pp. 211, 228, 234; vol. II, p. 213.

force in the law of the land, other than to establish the status of its own communicants within its own church. I believe in the support of the public school as one of the corner stones of American liberty. I believe in the right of every parent to choose whether his child shall be educated in a public school or in a religious school supported by those of his own faith. I believe in the principle of non-interference by this country in the internal affairs of other nations and that one should stand steadfastly against such interference by whomsoever it may be urged. And I believe in the common brotherhood of man under the common fatherhood of God." [20]

That no censure has been issued by bishop, archbishop, cardinal, or pope, shows how far Roman Catholic political theory has departed from the views of Pius IX and Leo XIII not to mention Innocent III and Boniface VIII.

[20] *Atlantic Monthly*, May, 1927, p. 728.

CHAPTER EIGHT

Roman Catholicism and Public Education

WHAT is the story of the Roman Catholic parochial school in the United States? Is its maintenance a criticism of a situation that was or that is? Would it have originated in such an age as this? Is it a fossil of an earlier day? Is not education a function of the state? What are the official Roman Catholic decisions with reference to education? Is the parish school becoming more efficient? Is it gaining on public education? How large a proportion of the children of Catholic parents attend the parochial school? Is the financial burden of maintaining separate schools becoming too heavy? Is public education "godless"? Questions like these are constantly present in the American mind.

What, then, is the story of the Roman Catholic parish school from the Roman Catholic point of view? "All the schools in the colonies, whether established by Catholics or Protestants, were religious schools. . . . The fact that all religious denomina-

tions maintained schools resulted in Catholic settlers organizing and developing a school system of their own. . . . Catholic colonial schools were modeled either after continental schools, especially French and German, or after the system of education established by the Jesuits . . . all the schools in English colonies were under the direction of Jesuits. . . . In 1829, a provincial council held in Baltimore ordered the establishment of Catholic schools wherever possible. . . . 'We judge it absolutely necessary that schools should be established in which the young may be taught the principles of faith and morality while being instructed in letters'. . . . [When the plea of Bishop John Hughes of New York for a share of the public school fund was rejected] it became evident to all that in the future Catholics would have to maintain schools without financial assistance from the state."[1]

It is further claimed that the anti-Catholic character of public education in 1850, the employment of only Protestant teachers, and the reading of the Protestant Bible made the parochial school more popular. When the Roman Catholic population was doubled by heavy immigration from Ireland and Germany, the foundations of the present parish school

[1] *A Catechism of Catholic Education* published by the National Catholic Welfare Commission in 1922.

system were deeply and securely laid. While the Civil War retarded the progress of Roman Catholic education, better methods and efficiency have more recently produced splendid acceleration.

The maintenance of a costly parochial school system is in itself a criticism of public education. This is usually admitted by even the broad-minded Catholic apologist, who after stating that "the establishment and maintenance of parochial schools does not imply the condemnation of public schools, or opposition of any kind to the purpose for which they are established" goes on to say that "the exclusion of religion from the public school is, we think, historically the result of sectarian division and sectarian prejudice. . . . In the matter of morality they feel that experiments more and more dangerous are being tried in the public schools, and if they protest, they are doing what, after all, they have a right as taxpayers to do. . . . Meantime also they are developing their own system of education without giving up the contention that, in justice, they have a right to compensation for the secular education and the education in citizenship which they give in their schools." [2]

Archbishop Ireland put his criticism of public education in this form: "Not against State schools, as such, do I raise objection, but as to the methods in

[2] Catholic Encyclopedia, vol. XIII, p. 561.

which they work—methods that, whatever the theory, do in fact consecrate secularism as the religion of America, and daily are driving America thither with the floodtide of a Niagara. Somehow, secular knowledge should be imparted to the child so as not to imperil its faith in God and in Christ. . . . Say what you will, today, in America, the evil is the decay of religion, and, in logical sequence, the decay of morals. In both instances the cause of decay is the enforced secularism of the State schools."[8]

The Roman Catholic argument justifying the existence of the parish school has been thus summarized: "1. The spiritual interests of the child are supreme. When there is danger of wrecking the soul of a Catholic child, no consideration of economy has weight; 2. Next to religion, morality is the most important matter in the life of a child. Catholic educational theorists, especially, are convinced that the immature mind of the child cannot grasp principles of morality except they be presented by way of religious authority and feeling; 3. Exclusion of religion from schools is a pedagogical mistake; 4. Parish schools are not un-American because they teach patriotism, morality, religion and strive to keep up with the public school system in teaching the

[8] Ryan and Millar, *The State and the Church*, p. 291 ff. (1913).

secular branches."[4] The Roman Catholic Church is the divinely appointed custodian of the whole body of revealed truth and is therefore concerned with education. Public education must remain neutral in questions involving religion. "Both the Sunday School and the religious vacation school are mere makeshifts in the process of educating children religiously."[5] A religious atmosphere is lacking in secular education. Schools "where the teaching of religion is abandoned or the teaching of morality excluded from the curriculum" should not be attended by the children of the faithful.

The fallacy of this contention should be obvious to everyone. Public education has been throughout the history of the United States the alma mater not only of the mind but of character and the higher aspirations of life. It needs no defense. Those inclined to question this verdict should read pages 165-177 of *The Story of the Ten Commandments,* where reasons for our conclusion are given.[6]

Some of the more important rules and regulations regarding Roman Catholic religious education promulgated by popes and councils follow.

In the notorious "Syllabus of Errors" of Decem-

[4] Catholic Encyclopedia, vol. XIII, p. 561.
[5] *Catechism of Catholic Education,* p. 51.
[6] By C. H. Moehlman.

ber 8, 1864, Pope Pius IX devoted theses 45, 47, and 48 to a criticism of public education.[7]

In 1866, the Second Plenary Council of Baltimore met and concluded that the parish school was the only remedy "for the terrible evils of religious indifference and of moral corruption." In the Third Plenary Council of Baltimore, held in 1884, four decrees were passed regarding religious education. "I. Wherever a parish school does not already exist, one must be built within two years from the promulgation of the decree, and maintained in perpetuity, unless the bishop on account of insuperable obstacles, consents to a delay. II. Any priest, who, by culpable negligence, fails to erect and to maintain a school within that time, or who will not heed the repeated admonitions of the bishop, will be liable to removal from his church. III. Any mission or parish which fails to assist the priest in erecting and maintaining a school to such an extent that owing to this negligence the school cannot exist, must be censured by the bishop, who will employ efficient and prudent means of obtaining the necessary support. IV. All Catholic parents are obliged to send their children to parish schools, unless they provide for their Christian education either at home or in other Catholic schools, or else obtain permission for sufficient reason, ap-

[7] See Chapter IV, note 7.

proved by the bishop, and with due precaution and other remedies, to send their children to other schools. What constitutes a Catholic school is left to the judgment of the bishop." [8]

In 1892, Monsignor Satolli, the apostolic delegate in America, delivered to the annual meeting of the Archbishops a letter from Pope Leo XIII containing thirteen instructions for settling the religious educational problem. In May of the following year the pope settled the controversy by urging a steadfast observance of the decrees of the Third Plenary Council of Baltimore.[9]

In 1917, Pope Benedict XV promulgated the new code of canon law with the following canons devoted to the educational problem: "1113. Parents are bound by a most serious obligation to procure as far as possible the religious, moral, physical, and civil education of their children and to provide also for their temporal welfare. 1372. (1) All the faithful are to be brought up from childhood in such a way that not only nothing be taught them that is opposed to the Catholic religion and good morals, but so that religious and moral instruction hold the first place. (2) Not only parents but all who hold their place have the right and most serious duty to procure the Christian education of their children. 1373. Religious

[8] Americana, vol. 21, p. 322. [9] *Ibid.*, p. 324.

instruction must be given in the elementary schools, suitably to the age of the pupils. 1374. Catholic children must not attend non-Catholic, undenominational, or mixed schools, those namely that are also open to non-Catholics. It belongs exclusively to the bishop of the locality to judge under what circumstances and with what precautions against the danger of perversion attendance at these schools may be tolerated. 1375. The Church has the right to found not only elementary schools, but also secondary schools and schools for higher studies. 1379. If Catholic elementary and secondary schools do not exist, in accordance with canon 1373, care must be taken, particularly by the bishop of the place, that they be founded." [10]

In 1920 the Pastoral Letter of the American Hierarchy contained the following pronouncement upon education: "As the public welfare is largely dependent upon the intelligence of the citizens, the State has a vital concern in education . . . the State has the right to insist that its citizens shall be educated . . . [if parents neglect to provide for education] the State has the right to establish schools and take every other legitimate means to safeguard its vital interests against the dangers that result from ignorance. . . . Any advantage that might accrue even from a

[10] *Ibid.*, p. 321.

perfect system of State education would be more than offset by the wrong which the violation of parental rights would involve." [11]

These rules and regulations suggest that the parish school still constitutes a twofold problem for the Roman Catholic hierarchy, one internal, the other external. The school seems to require an apology: "our Catholic schools are not established and maintained with any idea of holding our children apart from the general body and spirit of American citizenship." [12] On the other hand, the faithful must constantly be exhorted to send their children to them: "If the Church has the duty of establishing schools, Catholics have the correlative duty of sending their children to these schools. . . . If religious education is to continue the Catholics of America must not swerve in their allegiance to the principles laid down by the Church. . . . The future both of the Church and of our country depends upon our allegiance to the religious ideal in education." [13]

Misunderstandings between priests and teachers, lack of teachers, the ever increasing financial burdens, the dangers to little children in the crowded streets of our modern cities, and especially the liberal-

[11] Ryan and Millar, *The State and the Church*, p. 227 f.
[12] *A Catechism of Catholic Education*, p. 71; see also p. 79.
[13] *Ibid.*, p. 64; see also J. A. Dunney, *The Parish School*, p. 309 ff.

izing leaven of the modern environment increase the difficulties attending the continued maintenance of the parochial school. The anonymous Catholic author of "The Heresy of the Parochial School" refers to the compulsion exerted upon parents to support the parish school, to the heavier and heavier financial burdens, to the controversial faith taught the children, to the suppression of individuality by authority, to the "heresy of religious intellectualism," to "many thoughtful priests disturbed by the evident failure of the system.

"We are a people self-ostracized. Our children may not sit in the same classroom with the children of the unorthodox. We must have our own schools, our own charities, our own graveyards. . . . The inordinate zeal to keep religious formalism and pietism constantly before youth too often produces a reaction that is disastrous. Many are therefore led to say later, 'I got enough religion in my childhood to do me for the rest of my life.' . . . The leakage of the Church is undoubtedly greater proportionately today than it was a generation ago. This estimate cannot be verified, because the number of the fallen away is not recorded by the ecclesiastical authorities. If, however, statistics were at hand, it would undoubtedly be found that the losses of the Catholic Church in America increase in direct ratio to the multiplica-

tion of Catholic schools. . . . When the Catholic child is six years old, he is taken to an inquisition as relentless as that over which presided the notorious Torquemada. More violence is done to tender souls by the intellectual rack of the parochial schoolroom than was done to the bodies of other victims in the past. . . . There is but one quality that proves the excellence of a religion. It is the excellence of the lives lived by its devotees. When the American bishops cease their school-building crusade and begin the work of developing Christian character there will be hope for the Church in America." [14]

Does the parochial school reach the majority of Catholic children of school age? Can it compete with public education in personnel, equipment, and method? Can 70,000 teachers be compared to 900,000 teachers? Is an annual budget of less than a hundred million dollars commensurate with an annual budget of over two billion dollars? "Nearly one-half of the Catholic children attending elementary schools in the United States were being educated under the parish school system in the year 1910. Catholic schools are practically impossible in most country districts, and it has been estimated that from one-fourth to one-third of the number of Catholic children of school age live in country districts. In towns

[14] *Atlantic Monthly,* February, 1928, pp. 158-166.

and cities where alone it is possible, generally speaking, to build and maintain Catholic schools, it may be said that all but one-fourth to one-sixth of the Catholic population attending school is being educated in the parish schools." [15]

This estimate was rather optimistic. Only now is the parish school beginning to enroll half of the Roman Catholic children of school age. The following table tells the story.

Year	Population U. S. between 5–17	Roman Catholic per cent of population of U. S.	Per cent U. S. population between 5–17 enrolled in parish schools	Per cent same population enrolled in public education	Per cent Catholic population between 5–17 enrolled in parish schools
1890.....	18,543,201	11.6	3.4	68.6	c 29.4[16]
1906.....	23,792,723	16.5	4.4	70.3	c 27
1916.....	26,846,976	15.4	5.5	74.5	c 36
1926.....	30,064,621[17]	15.9[18]	7.6[19]	82.3	c 48

Roman Catholic statistics in education do not report the number of children between five and seven-

[15] Catholic Encyclopedia, vol. XIII, p. 579.

[16] "c" equals about, see chapter IX, footnote 4.

[17] *World Almanac*, 1928, p. 397.

[18] U. S. Religious Census 1890-1926.

[19] Compare *A Catechism of Catholic Education*, pp. 6, 7; Catholic Encyclopedia, vol. XIII, p. 581; The Official Catholic Directory for the years concerned.

teen but only students in secondary schools and elementary schools. By adding these two, we get an approximate correspondence, with the error in favor of the parish school.

Between 1890-1926 the parish school made a gain of approximately nineteen per cent in Roman Catholic children of school age. It was in 1890 caring for some thirty per cent of the Catholic population of school age. It is now serving about one-half of that population.

As far as the population of the United States of school age is concerned, the parish school gained 4.2 per cent between 1890 and 1926. During the same interval public education increased its proportion 13.7 per cent. The rate of acceleration of public education during the period surveyed was three times that of the parish school. Public education is still caring for at least ten times as many students as the parish schools of the Roman Catholic Church. But the non-Catholic population of the United States is less than six times that of the Catholic population. In spite of all the acceleration in Roman Catholic education due to increased efficiency, the total school population of the United States is more under the sway of public education at the present time than it was in 1890. Apparently public education is a

permanent and ever more popular American institution.

Indeed, according to recent decisions of the United States Supreme Court, the government reserves some oversight of all schools: "No question is raised concerning the power of the State reasonably to regulate all schools, to inspect, supervise, and examine them, their teachers and pupils; to require that all children of proper age attend some school, that teachers shall be of good moral character and patriotic disposition, that certain studies plainly essential to good citizenship must be taught, and that nothing be taught which is manifestly inimical to the public welfare." [20]

As a check upon these conclusions consider the summary found in The Official Catholic Directory for 1928.[21] The ratio of parish school enrollment to total Roman Catholic population in the United States for the preceding year comes to about twelve per cent. The highest such ratio is met with in the diocese of Little Rock, Arkansas, namely, 24.8 per cent. The lowest such ratio is met with in the diocese of Lead, South Dakota, namely, 2.9 per cent. The median such ratio on the basis of fifteen archdioceses and eighty-eight dioceses is met with in

[20] C. C. Marshall, *The Roman Catholic Church in the Modern State*, p. 264 f.

[21] General Summary, The Official Catholic Directory, 1928, p. 1087.

the diocese of Portland, Maine, exactly 13 per cent. Selecting the fifteen most populous centers of Roman Catholic population, the archdioceses or dioceses, as the case may be, of New York, Chicago, Boston, Brooklyn, Philadelphia, Newark, Detroit, Hartford, Pittsburgh, Cleveland, Springfield (Massachusetts), St. Louis, Buffalo, Baltimore, and Milwaukee, we find 52.8 per cent of the Roman Catholic population of the United States and 56.1 per cent of the parochial school enrollment involved, but the ratio of parish school pupils to total Roman Catholic population in these areas comes to only 12.7 per cent. On the other hand, the ratio of students enrolled in public schools to the non-Catholic population of the United States amounted in 1926 to 25.1 per cent and with reference to the total Roman Catholic and non-Catholic population of the United States to 21.1 per cent. The enrollment of students in Roman Catholic schools constitutes 1.9 per cent of the population of the United States and 2.3 per cent of the non-Catholic population of the United States. The enrollment of students in public education constitutes 132.9 per cent of the total Roman Catholic population of the United States.

A general comparison between Roman Catholic and non-Roman Catholic education in the United States may conclude our survey. In 1926, the grand

total enrollment in all types of Catholic schools, elementary, secondary, normal, colleges, and seminaries, in the United States was 2,423,019; the total number of teachers was 77,344; the total number of schools was 10,087.[22] In 1925 the public school buildings in the United States in use numbered 258,859, and the value of all property used in public education amounted to $4,252,328,900. In 1926 the cost of public education in the United States totaled $2,016,812,685; the number between five and seventeen years of age enrolled in public schools was 24,741,468; the number enrolled in day high schools was 3,995,169; the number enrolled in universities, colleges, and professional schools was 821,052. The productive funds of universities, colleges, and professional schools in the United States in 1926 came to $975,919,495, and their total receipts to $476,260,680, while the value of their grounds and buildings stood at $1,131,973,600.[23]

The Catholic attempt to parallel public and non-Catholic education in the United States seems doomed to failure.

[22] Directory of Catholic Colleges and Schools, 1928, p. 530.
[23] *World Almanac*, 1928 (see index).

CHAPTER NINE

Is Roman Catholicism Winning the Religious Race in the United States?

It is only within recent years that religious statistics in the United States have become dependable. The perspective so essential to accurate comparative study of religious progress in the United States is lacking because it is impossible to discover precisely how rapidly Christianity was making progress prior to 1890. Only four decades of religious growth may therefore be surveyed with any feeling of security. Hence all manner of wild prediction has been indulged in. One recalls the astounding prophecy of Mark Twain that "it is a reasonably safe guess that in America in 1920, there will be ten million Christian Scientists and three million in Great Britain; that these figures will be trebled in 1930; that in America in 1920 Christian Scientists will be a political force, in 1930 politically formidable, and in 1940, the governing power in the Republic—to remain that permanently." [1] When Christian Sci-

[1] Mark Twain, *Christian Science*, p. 72.

ence in 1926 reported a paltry total of 202,098 for the United States, it became evident that Samuel Clemens was a good humorist but a poor prophet.

Equally absurd statements regarding the retardation of Roman Catholicism are met with in many Catholic and Protestant estimates. For example, such a well-informed Catholic official as Bishop England alleged a Roman Catholic loss of three and a quarter millions between 1786-1836. The *Tablet* in 1864 proclaimed a half thousand daily loss. The *Irish World* in 1874 figured a loss of eighteen million Roman Catholics between the close of the Revolutionary War and 1870.[2] McCabe, in his *The Decay of the Church of Rome,* calculates enormous losses for Roman Catholicism both in the United States and throughout the world during the nineteenth and the early twentieth centuries.[3]

Another difficulty connected with religious statistics in the United States is that the official religious census published by the government in 1890 and 1906 arbitrarily reduced the reported Roman Catholic membership by fifteen per cent in order to obtain in case of Roman Catholicism the equivalent of reported Protestant "communicant" membership, as if the statistician could not be relied upon to remember

[2] O'Gorman, *History of Roman Catholicism in the United States,* p. 489 ff.

[3] P. 171 ff.

that Roman Catholicism counts all the baptized whether infants, children, or adults, while Protestant groups as a rule count only children and adults. In 1916 in comparative estimates the government restored the reduction. The unwary religious statistician may therefore introduce a considerable error into his estimates.

To add to the troubles of the historian, a leading Protestant religious statistician continues to report each year on the 1890 basis. Thus the Official Catholic Directory reports 19,689,049, including 309,646 employing the Greek rite and 104,587 in Hawaiian Islands for 1927, while the Protestant estimate is only 16,735,691.

Indeed, within so-called "authoritative" enumerations, four different estimates for the same year may appear. The number of Christians in the United States in 1916 was 39,941,811, or 40,016,709 or 41,926,852 or 42,044,374 according as one "believes" the government or one's favorite expert. Moreover, some religious groups have at times refused to report their membership because David was told not to number the people. Again, some church clerks and other reporting officials may include a good deal of dead timber in their reports. The pruning of church rolls has not as yet become scientific. Finally, it would be difficult to discover any summary

of religious statistics which did not contain rather ancient estimates or the guesses of half a decade ago. Accurate religious statistics are simply not obtainable. It is probably true that most reports of religious statistics are optimistic.

In the circumstances, the best one may do is to accept the corrected tables prepared by the government of the United States. They cover the years 1890, 1906, 1916, and 1926.

The table on pages 164 and 165 shows the relation of the reported Roman Catholic population to that of the state concerned and of the United States for the religious census years.

A glance at the relation between the total Roman Catholic population and that of the United States for 1890 and 1906 shows a tremendous rate of acceleration for the former. Had that rate of acceleration become continuous, the United States would have been completely Romanized in less than three centuries. But this unusual acceleration was in part due to the large proportion of Roman Catholic immigrants among the more than twenty-one million immigrants who reached the United States between 1890 and 1926. After adding in the non-immigrant arrivals and subtracting the total departures for the same period, the net increase to the population of the United States since 1890 from foreign sources

State	1890 %	1906 %	1916 %	1926 %
New England				
Maine	10.2	18.4	19.2	22.1
New Hampshire	12.4	33.3	30.7	32.3
Vermont	15.1	27.5	21.4	25.3
Massachusetts	32.2	40.3	37.9	38.8
Rhode Island	32.9	46.2	42.5	48.3
Connecticut	24.1	34.0	38.8	34.6
Total	25.1	35.9	35.1	36.1
Middle Atlantic				
New York	22.5	31.9	26.7	27.5
New Jersey	18.1	22.7	26.8	28.6
Pennsylvania	12.5	20.08	21.49	22.1
Total	17.9	26.0	24.6	25.6
East North Central				
Ohio	10.7	14.45	16.3	14.7
Indiana	6.3	7.7	9.6	9.9
Illinois	14.6	20.5	19.07	18.7
Michigan	12.4	21.7	18.74	19.2
Wisconsin	17.3	26.6	23.7	22.7
Total	12.2	18.0	17.5	17.0
West North Central				
Minnesota	24.4	22.8	18.2	17.9
Iowa	10.1	10.9	11.7	11.8
Missouri	7.1	13.9	13.0	14.7
North Dakota	16.2	15.0	12.9	16.2
South Dakota	8.6	13.8	10.3	14.0
Nebraska	5.7	10.3	10.6	11.1
Kansas	5.5	6.8	7.0	9.4
Total	10.1	13.5	12.5	13.7
South Atlantic				
Delaware	8.2	13.3	15.4	15.6
Maryland	15.9	15.6	16.1	14.8
District of Columbia	14.8	16.5	14.1	12.7
Virginia	0.8	1.7	1.6	1.5
West Virginia	2.4	4.2	4.3	4.2

State	1890 %	1906 %	1916 %	1926 %
South Atlantic (Continued)				
North Carolina	0.19	0.2	0.2	0.24
South Carolina	0.5	0.8	0.5	0.4
Georgia	0.7	0.9	0.6	0.5
Florida	5.0	3.0	2.7	2.9
Total	2.2	3.5	3.4	3.3
East South Central				
Kentucky	5.8	8.7	6.7	7.0
Tennessee	1.19	0.95	1.0	1.0
Alabama	1.0	2.4	1.6	1.4
Mississippi	1.0	1.9	1.6	1.8
Total	2.4	3.6	2.8	2.9
West South Central				
Arkansas	0.4	2.5	1.2	1.3
Louisiana	22.2	36.2	27.3	30.6
Oklahoma	1.1	3.2	2.1	1.9
Texas	5.2	10.1	9.1	10.4
Total	7.8	12.7	9.6	10.5
Mountain				
Montana	20.7	26.1	16.9	10.6
Idaho	6.3	8.0	4.1	4.4
Wyoming	13.5	9.6	7.1	7.9
Colorado	13.4	16.7	10.9	10.8
New Mexico	73.8	51.6	43.3	44.9
Arizona	25.3	20.2	33.1	21.6
Utah	3.3	2.9	2.3	2.8
Nevada	9.7	17.5	8.1	10.9
Total	20.7	19.2	15.2	13.6
Pacific				
Washington	6.8	9.7	6.3	7.8
Oregon	11.1	7.2	5.9	6.3
California	15.2	20.4	16.8	16.6
Total	12.9	15.5	12.0	11.9
UNITED STATES OF AMERICA	11.6	16.5	15.4	15.9

comes to some eighteen millions.[4] Had all Roman Catholics in this flood become members of the American Roman Catholic churches, the total Roman Catholic population would today stand at several millions in excess of what is officially claimed. This flood of immigration was at its height during the earlier part of the period. During the last two decades the Roman Catholic religious situation in the United States has been more normal.

Not one of the nine recognized divisions of states shows a continuous gain in relation to population for Roman Catholicism between 1890 and 1926. The Mountain States show a continuous loss for Roman Catholicism in relation to population between 1890 and 1926.

With reference to the individual states, Roman Catholicism lost continuously in relation to population between 1890 and 1926 only in Minnesota, with a total drop of 6.5 per cent. In 1926 it had the same or a less per cent of population than in 1890 in Minnesota, North Dakota, Maryland, District of Columbia, South Carolina, Georgia, Florida, Tennessee, Montana, Idaho, Wyoming, Colorado, New Mexico, Arizona, Utah, Oregon. The state showing the highest per cent of loss in relation to population between 1890 and 1926 was New Mexico with a total

[4] *World Almanac*, 1928, pp. 199-204.

drop of 28.9 per cent. The least Roman Catholic state in both 1890 and 1926 was North Carolina.

Roman Catholicism gained continuously in relation to population between 1890 and 1926 in Maine, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Indiana, Iowa, Nebraska, Kansas, Delaware. New Hampshire shows the highest per cent of gain in relation to population between 1890 and 1926 with a total of 19.9 per cent. The most Roman Catholic state in 1890 was New Mexico; in 1926, Rhode Island. In 1890 New Mexico was 73.8 per cent Roman Catholic. But no state in 1926 was one-half Roman Catholic.

Roman Catholicism gained in relation to the population between 1906 and 1926 in the following states: Maine, Rhode Island, Connecticut, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Ohio, Indiana, Iowa, Missouri, North Dakota, South Dakota, Nebraska, Kansas, Delaware, North Carolina, Tennessee, Texas, Arizona. It lost between 1906 and 1926 in the following states: New Hampshire, Vermont, Massachusetts, New York, Illinois, Michigan, Wisconsin, Minnesota, Arkansas, Louisiana, Oklahoma, Montana, Idaho, Wyoming, Colorado, New Mexico, Utah, Nevada, Washington, Oregon, California, Maryland, District of Columbia, Virginia, South Carolina, Georgia, Florida, Kentucky, Alabama, Mississippi, or in twenty-nine states and

the District of Columbia. In West Virginia there was no change in ratio.

Roman Catholicism lost continuously in relation to the population between 1906 and 1926 in the following states: Illinois, Wisconsin, Minnesota, District of Columbia, Virginia, South Carolina, Georgia, Alabama, Arkansas, Oklahoma, Montana, Colorado, California. It gained continuously in Maine, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Indiana, Iowa, Nebraska, Kansas, and Delaware.

Roman Catholicism fluctuated in relation to population between 1906 and 1926 in New Hampshire, Vermont, Massachusetts, Rhode Island, Connecticut, New York, Ohio, Michigan, Missouri, North Dakota, South Dakota, Maryland, West Virginia, Florida, Kentucky, Mississippi, Louisiana, Texas, Idaho, Wyoming, New Mexico, Arizona, Utah, Nevada, Washington, Oregon.

A study of the United States by divisions indicates a lower per cent for Roman Catholicism in relation to population in seven out of the nine divisions in 1926 as compared with 1906 and a total loss the country over of six-tenths of one per cent during these two decades. Were this rate of retardation to prove continuous, Roman Catholicism would be extinct in the United States in A.D. 4689.

A similar survey for 1916 and 1926 makes it clear that Roman Catholicism gained in five out of the nine divisions during the last decade and enjoyed a one-half of one per cent gain throughout the United States for the decade. Were this rate of acceleration to prove continuous, the United States would be Romanized in A.D. 3608.

Let us now examine Roman Catholic progress in New England, in which division its greatest advance was registered between 1890 and 1926, namely 11 per cent. Heavy Roman Catholic immigration here produced a most favorable situation for the rapid increase of Roman Catholic population.

The rate of acceleration in Roman Catholic population in New England between 1890 and 1926 may be observed in the following table:

State	Ratio to population 1890	Acceleration per decade	Ratio to population 1906	Acceleration per decade	Ratio to population 1916	Acceleration per decade	Ratio to population 1926
Maine	10.2	5.12	18.4	0.8	19.2	2.9	22.1
New Hampshire	12.4	13.06	33.3	−2.6	30.7	1.6	32.3
Vermont	15.1	7.75	27.5	−6.1	21.4	3.9	25.3
Massachusetts	32.2	5.06	40.3	−2.4	37.9	0.9	38.8
Rhode Island	32.9	8.31	46.2	−3.7	42.5	5.8	48.3
Connecticut	24.1	6.18	34.0	4.8	38.8	−4.2	34.6
Total	25.1	6.75	35.9	−0.8	35.1	1.0	36.1

Although the Roman Catholic population of New England increased from a little over a million in 1890 to the neighborhood of three millions in 1926, due largely to immigration, the acceleration per decade declined from 6.75 per cent for 1890-1906 to only one per cent for 1916-1926 and two-tenths of one per cent for the period 1906-1926. The *per decade* growth for Roman Catholicism in New England between 1890 and 1906 was 652,294; between 1906 and 1916, 292,524; between 1916 and 1926, 404,427; and 348,476 per decade between 1906-1926. The retardation in Roman Catholic growth of population in New England 1906 to 1926 as compared with 1890-1906 reached the grave total of 346,719. Thus far we have been depending upon the religious census of the government of the United States. The Official Directory of the Roman Catholic hierarchy reports 34,169 less Roman Catholics in New England in 1926 than the government census, thus increasing this retardation to 380,888. Accepting this estimate of the Roman Catholic hierarchy, the acceleration in New England declined from 6.75 per cent per decade, 1890-1906, to only one-half per cent, 1916-1926. Indeed, the acceleration for the period 1890-1906 was 10.8 per cent compared with that of the period 1906-1926 of two-tenths of one per cent. If this rate of

retardation in growth of Roman Catholic population in New England should prove continuous, Roman Catholicism in New England would soon be not only in relative but in actual decline.

Hence, in the area most favorable to Roman Catholic progress because of the flood of Roman Catholic immigration, alarming retardation set in halfway through the period surveyed. This is certainly a hint of the precarious hold of Roman Catholicism upon the second immigrant generation.

Turning now to the Pacific States, we note a one per cent retardation for Roman Catholicism in relation to population for 1926 as compared with 1890.

In the Mountain division composed of eight states, the retardation of Roman Catholicism in relation to population has been continuous between 1890 and 1926, amounting to a total of 7.1 per cent.

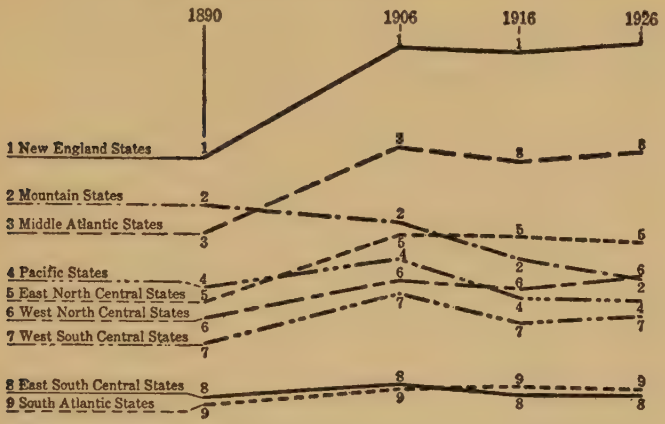
The table on page 172 illustrates the situation in detail.

Although the Roman Catholic population of this division increased from 251,463 in 1890 to 535,696 in 1926, the sectional population of the United States increased from 1,213,940 in 1890 to 3,935,523 in 1926. Roman Catholic population increased 113.03 per cent but the sectional population, 224.19 per cent.

State	Ratio between Roman Catholic and state population 1890	Retardation per decade	Ratio 1906	Retardation	Ratio 1916	Retardation	Ratio 1926
Montana	20.7	−3.37	26.1	9.2	16.9	6.3	10.6
Idaho	6.3	−1.06	8.0	3.9	4.1	−0.3	4.4
Wyoming	13.5	2.43	9.6	2.5	7.1	−0.8	7.9
Colorado	13.4	−2.06	16.7	5.8	10.9	0.1	10.8
New Mexico	73.8	13.87	51.6	8.3	43.3	−1.6	44.9
Arizona	25.3	3.18	20.2	−12.9	33.1	11.5	21.6
Utah	3.3	0.25	2.9	0.6	2.3	−0.5	2.8
Nevada	9.7	−4.87	17.5	9.4	8.1	−2.8	10.9
Total	20.7	.93	19.2	4.0	15.2	1.6	13.6

The retardation for Roman Catholic population in relation to state population amounted to 10.1 per cent for Montana; 1.9 per cent for Idaho; 5.6 per cent for Wyoming; 2.6 per cent for Colorado; 28.9 per cent for New Mexico; 3.7 per cent for Arizona; 0.5 per cent for Utah. Only Nevada shows an acceleration for 1926 as compared with 1890, namely, 1.2 per cent.

The following graph indicates the divisional fluctuations of Roman Catholicism with reference to total sectional population between 1890 and 1926.

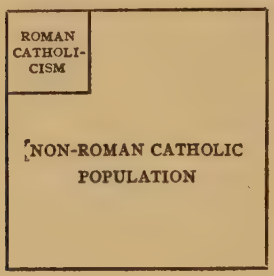


Turning now to the United States as a whole, the relation of Roman Catholic population to the total population of the United States for the period 1890-1926 was as follows:

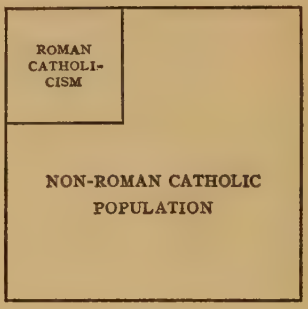
Year	Population of the United States	Roman Catholic population	Non-Roman Catholic population	Roman Catholic per cent of population
1890.....	62,947,714	7,343,186	55,614,528	11.6
1906.....	85,837,372	14,210,755	71,627,617	16.5
1916.....	102,017,312	15,721,815	86,295,497	15.4
1926.....	117,135,817	18,604,850	98,530,967	15.9

Put graphically, this relation becomes:

1890
Population of the United States



1906
Population of the United States



1916
Population of the United States

1926
Population of the United States

The following percentages show how serious the decline in the Roman Catholic rate of acceleration has been between 1906 and 1926 as compared with 1890-1906.

Between 1890 and 1926, the population of the

United States increased 86.08 per cent, while that of Roman Catholicism increased 153.3 per cent.

Between 1890 and 1916, the population of the United States increased 62.06 per cent, while that of Roman Catholicism increased 114.1 per cent.

Between 1890 and 1906, the population of the United States increased 36.3 per cent, while that of Roman Catholicism increased 93.5 per cent.

Between 1906 and 1916, the population of the United States increased 18.8 per cent, while that of Roman Catholicism increased merely 10.6 per cent.

Between 1916 and 1926, the population of the United States increased 14.8 per cent, while that of Roman Catholicism increased 18.3 per cent.

Charting the *per decade* increases of Roman Catholic population and United States population 1890-1926 we obtain:

Period	Roman Catholic population	United States population
1890–1926	42.6%	23.9%
1890–1916	43.8	23.8
1890–1906	58.4	22.7
1906–1916	10.6	18.8
1916–1926	18.3	14.8

The rate of acceleration of Roman Catholicism at its peak over that of the population of the United States during this period was 35.7 per cent.

The rate of retardation of Roman Catholicism at its ebb under that of the population of the United States during this period was 8.2 per cent.

The present rate of acceleration of Roman Catholicism in the United States is reduced to only 16.4 per cent per decade of that for 1890-1906 and 21 per cent per decade of that for 1890-1926.

The relation of Roman Catholic population to United States population has been in decline since 1906.

It may be of some interest to observe that Roman Catholicism is not making a success of its Sunday schools. The accompanying table compares the relation between Roman Catholic population and number of scholars in Roman Catholic Sunday schools during the last two decades.

Year	Roman Catholic population	Scholars in Roman Catholic Sunday schools	Per cent
1906	14,210,755	1,481,535	10.4
1916	15,721,815	1,860,836	11.8
1926	18,604,850	1,201,280	6.4

In 1926 there were 4,394,095 more Roman Catholics in the United States than in 1906 but in the

same year there were 280,255 less scholars in Roman Catholic Sunday schools than in 1906. The decline in Sunday school enrollment in relation to increase in Roman Catholic population was 38.3 per cent. The actual decline on the basis of enrollment for 1906 was 18.9 per cent. If this rate of retardation proved continuous for three decades, Roman Catholic Sunday schools would be extinct.

We now present a chart indicating the Roman Catholic per cent of population in each state of the American union between 1890 and 1926. In 1890 nine states were more than one-fifth Romanized; in 1906, seventeen; in 1916, twelve; in 1926, thirteen. The ten most Roman Catholic states in 1890 were New Mexico, Rhode Island, Massachusetts, Arizona, Minnesota, Connecticut, New York, Louisiana, Montana, and New Jersey. In 1926, New Hampshire, Vermont, and Wisconsin replaced Arizona, Minnesota, and Montana. New Hampshire rose from twenty-second to fifth place. Montana dropped from ninth to twenty-ninth place. North Carolina, Arkansas, South Carolina, Georgia, Virginia, Mississippi, Alabama, Oklahoma, Tennessee, and West Virginia were the least Roman Catholic states in 1890. In 1926 Utah replaced West Virginia.

Finally, we present a table giving the relation be-

	1890 State	Roman Catholic per cent of population	1906 State	Roman Catholic per cent of population
1	New Mexico	73.8	New Mexico	51.6
2	Rhode Island	32.9	Rhode Island	46.2
3	Massachusetts	32.2	Massachusetts	40.3
4	Arizona	25.3	Louisiana	36.2
5	Minnesota	24.4	Connecticut	34.0
6	Connecticut	24.1	New Hampshire	33.3
7	New York	22.5	New York	31.9
8	Louisiana	22.2	Vermont	27.5
9	Montana	20.7	Wisconsin	26.6
10	New Jersey	18.1	Montana	26.1
11	Wisconsin	17.3	Minnesota	22.8
12	North Dakota	16.2	New Jersey	22.7
13	Maryland	15.9	Michigan	21.7
14	California	15.2	Illinois	20.5
15	Vermont	15.1	California	20.4
16	District of Columbia	14.8	Arizona	20.2
17	Illinois	14.6	Pennsylvania	20.08
18	Wyoming	13.5	Maine	18.4
19	Colorado	13.4	Nevada	17.5
20	Pennsylvania	12.5	Colorado	16.7
21	Michigan	12.4	District of Columbia	16.5
22	New Hampshire	12.4	Maryland	15.6
23	Oregon	11.1	North Dakota	15.0
24	Ohio	10.7	Ohio	14.45
25	Maine	10.2	Missouri	13.9
26	Iowa	10.1	South Dakota	13.8
27	Nevada	9.7	Delaware	13.3
28	South Dakota	8.6	Iowa	10.9
29	Delaware	8.2	Nebraska	10.3
30	Missouri	7.1	Texas	10.1
31	Washington	6.8	Washington	9.7
32	Indiana	6.3	Wyoming	9.6
33	Idaho	6.3	Kentucky	8.7
34	Kentucky	5.8	Idaho	8.0
35	Nebraska	5.7	Indiana	7.7
36	Kansas	5.5	Oregon	7.2
37	Texas	5.2	Kansas	6.8
38	Florida	5.0	West Virginia	4.2
39	Utah	3.3	Oklahoma	3.2
40	West Virginia	2.4	Florida	3.0
41	Tennessee	1.19	Utah	2.9
42	Oklahoma	1.1	Arkansas	2.5
43	Alabama	1.0	Alabama	2.4
44	Mississippi	1.0	Mississippi	1.9
45	Virginia	0.8	Virginia	1.7
46	Georgia	0.7	Tennessee	0.95
47	South Carolina	0.5	Georgia	0.9
48	Arkansas	0.4	South Carolina	0.8
49	North Carolina	0.19	North Carolina	0.2

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	1916 State	Roman Catholic per cent of population	1926 State	Roman Catholic per cent of population
1	New Mexico	43.3	Rhode Island	48.3
2	Rhode Island	42.5	New Mexico	44.9
3	Connecticut	38.8	Massachusetts	38.8
4	Massachusetts	37.9	Connecticut	34.6
5	Arizona	33.1	New Hampshire	32.3
6	New Hampshire	30.7	Louisiana	30.6
7	Louisiana	27.3	New Jersey	28.6
8	New Jersey	26.8	New York	27.5
9	New York	26.7	Vermont	25.3
10	Wisconsin	23.7	Wisconsin	22.7
11	Pennsylvania	21.49	Pennsylvania	22.1
12	Vermont	21.4	Maine	22.1
13	Maine	19.2	Arizona	21.6
14	Illinois	19.07	Michigan	19.2
15	Michigan	18.74	Illinois	18.7
16	Minnesota	18.2	Minnesota	17.9
17	Montana	16.9	California	16.6
18	California	16.8	North Dakota	16.2
19	Ohio	16.3	Delaware	15.6
20	Maryland	16.1	Maryland	14.8
21	Delaware	15.4	Ohio	14.7
22	District of Columbia	14.1	Missouri	14.7
23	Missouri	13.0	South Dakota	14.0
24	North Dakota	12.9	District of Columbia	12.7
25	Iowa	11.7	Iowa	11.8
26	Colorado	10.9	Nebraska	11.1
27	Nebraska	10.6	Nevada	10.9
28	South Dakota	10.3	Colorado	10.8
29	Indiana	9.6	Montana	10.6
30	Texas	9.1	Texas	10.4
31	Nevada	8.1	Indiana	9.9
32	Wyoming	7.1	Kansas	9.4
33	Kansas	7.0	Wyoming	7.9
34	Kentucky	6.7	Washington	7.8
35	Washington	6.3	Kentucky	7.0
36	Oregon	5.9	Oregon	6.3
37	West Virginia	4.3	Idaho	4.4
38	Idaho	4.1	West Virginia	4.2
39	Florida	2.7	Florida	2.9
40	Utah	2.3	Utah	2.8
41	Oklahoma	2.1	Oklahoma	1.9
42	Virginia	1.6	Mississippi	1.8
43	Alabama	1.6	Virginia	1.5
44	Mississippi	1.6	Alabama	1.4
45	Arkansas	1.2	Arkansas	1.3
46	Tennessee	1.0	Tennessee	1.0
47	Georgia	0.6	Georgia	0.5
48	South Carolina	0.5	South Carolina	0.4
49	North Carolina	0.2	North Carolina	0.24

tween Roman Catholicism, all denominations exclusive of Roman Catholicism, and all persons in the United States regarded as not affiliated with religious organizations, and the total population of the United States for the religious census years since 1890. Simple subtraction makes it evident that Protestantism and Judaism have gained 7.0 per cent upon Roman Catholicism since 1906 as far as total population is concerned. Moreover, during the last two decades the population of the United State unaffiliated with religious organizations has suffered a reduction of 5.8 per cent. Indeed, in the last thirty-six years that reduction has amounted to 12.2 per cent. The United States is rapidly approaching the point where one-

Year	Roman Catholic per cent of population, United States	Per cent population of all denominations exclusive of Roman Catholicism	Per cent of population not affiliated with religious organizations
1890.....	11.6	22.8	65.6
1906.....	16.5	24.3	59.2
1916.....	15.4	25.6	59.0
1926.....	15.9	30.7	53.4

half of its population will be reported affiliated with religious organizations.[5]

[5] Allowance should be made for the appearance of the Christian Scientists and the Missouri Synod and for the inclusion of

IS ROMAN CATHOLICISM WINNING?

The full significance of Roman Catholicism cannot be measured in terms of quantity, but requires an investigation of the interest, devotion, and efficiency of professing Roman Catholics as well as of the direct and indirect influence of Roman Catholicism upon the culture of the modern world. The anonymous Catholic author of "The Catholic Church and the Modern Mind" [6] says that "of the two and a half million Italian Catholics in America not more than a half million practice their religion." Unless it compromises with the American environment, Roman Catholicism cannot hope to influence the American mind. The change of attitude toward authority in religion which emerged with the Protestant Reformation and which has made adherence to Christianity a perfectly voluntary affair demands still further readjustment to the actual modern situation on the part of Roman Catholicism. "The Church fears individuality and personality in her members. There is always the danger of heresy, the danger of insubordination. But there is nothing to fear from

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all baptized persons by Episcopalians and Lutherans in the 1926 Religious Census. Moreover, the Jewish statistics now include all members of their congregations and not merely seatholders and contributors as formerly. On the other hand, if the remaining Christian groups should report their membership on this broader basis, the Protestant population would be increased enormously.

[6] *Atlantic Monthly*, February, 1928, p. 163.

the human soul, patterned after God as it is. Therein lies the hope of our race. Human theologies and ecclesiastical dignities have not contributed one whit to the progress of humanity. In those closed systems there has been no place for the development of human souls. . . . The truth that is to make men free, according to the dictum of Christ, will not be found in theological systems of religion. Those who are to be leaders in quest of life-giving truth must, like Solomon, beseech God for the understanding heart. They must not only have sympathy with human aspirations, but they must also have faith in humanity. To accomplish this they must lay aside their royal purple, and come shoulder to shoulder with those who do the world's drudgery. They must lay aside their absolutism of mind and rule and become seekers for traces of divinity in the souls of men. Thus will a new day dawn for the world. . . . We may then hope to have ecclesiastical dignitaries whose minds are free from the restrictions of bigotry. They will be men of humility, and, therefore, Christlike. Then, being Christlike, they will be meek, gentle, considerate, patient with other intellects, and trustful of human nature." [7]

[7] *Ibid.*, p. 549.

CHAPTER TEN

The World That Was and The World That Is

"TIMES change; we also change with them." During the last four centuries the old order of things has been swept away. A new universe is here.

In the world that was, the earth was the work of God's fingers or voice, produced in exactly one hundred forty-four hours, scarcely six thousand years ago. It was a flat earth, with far more land than water, resting upon an assumption, upholding the solid arch of heaven under which the sun moved by day and the moon and stars by night. The earth was the center of things. Nine hierarchies of angels served the Lord of Hosts. The seraphim, cherubim, and thrones watched in the empyrean where the triune God sat. Dominions, powers, and principalities brooded over the middle space. Principalities, archangels, and angels guarded the earth. The principalities were in charge of nations and kingdoms. The archangels were interested in religion and prayer.

The angels gave attention to mundane affairs in general. Frequently a furious God flung fireballs—comets, meteors, and eclipses—to frighten folks. Again, Satan caused the storms. When Leviathan shook his tail at the sun, the earth quaked. When he slaked his thirst, the ebb of the tide was on; when he belched forth water, the flood. The malice of evil beings or the wrath of good beings produced disease. The beard of Noah was available for the cure of sickness. Comparative philology began at the tower of Babel. Woman's position of inferiority was demonstrated by a verse in Genesis or Ecclesiasticus or Timothy. A flash of lightning might veto legislation. Voices heard in dreams turned victorious generals back. An epidemic of May bugs called for exorcism. Fear was the basis of religion. The authority of church and tradition made it both unnecessary and inadvisable for man to think. It was an easy-going, comfortable, backward world. One could sleep. The state was at hand to execute the harsh decrees of religion.[1]

In a few brief centuries that world vanished. Even Pope Pius IX noticed the transformation, but tried to sweep back the modern flood with his medieval broom of a "syllabus of errors." He listed four

[1] See, for example, A. D. White, *A History of the Warfare of Science with Theology*, vol. I, II.

score innovations. He might have gone on to a thousand. Philosophy, science, liberty, salvation, Protestantism, socialism, communism, secret societies, Bible societies, liberal tendencies, relation of church and state, public education, separation of church and state, marriage and divorce—such things as these he labeled erroneous. But they are only a few of the straws in the modern haystack. "The consent of the governed" is an active word of the political vocabulary. Education the world over is becoming democratic. Women pull down the lever on election day. The modern machine has triumphed over the "made by hand" product of the long ago. In a hundred new ways the wealth of the earth is being recovered. The problem of leisure time is always with us. Everything is new: history, psychology, philosophy, science, examinations, iron bridges, iron ships, steel bridges, steel ships, the cotton gin, steamboat, railroad, friction match, electric bell, telegraph, vulcanizing, sewing machine, ophthalmoscope, Atlantic cable, typewriter, telephone, incandescent lamp, kodak, automobile, Selden patent for automobile, universal car, aëroplane, Zeppelin, radio, serums, preventive medicine.

The world that is has an historical bias. It desires to know how existing institutions originated. It has turned the searchlight of truth upon the past of Christianity and of the papacy. Anything "done in a cor-

ner" needs to fear the modern devotion to fact. The secret is out regarding the "Isidorian decretals," the "Liber Pontificalis," the "donation of Constantine," the ninth and the tenth century papacy, and the papal confession of sin at the Nuremberg diet in 1523.[2]

The beginnings of this wicked and wise age are usually assigned to the sixteenth century. Let's make certain.

Pope Leo XIII plaintively wrote, "Sad it is to call to mind how the harmful and lamentable rage for innovation which rose to a climax in the sixteenth century, threw first of all into confusion the Christian religion, and next, by natural sequence, invaded the precincts of philosophy whence it spread among all classes of society." [3]

Hilaire Belloc is of the same opinion: "One thing stands out in the fate of modern Europe: the profound cleavage due to the Reformation . . . [which] was essentially the reaction of the barbaric, the ill-tutored and the isolated places external to the old and deep-rooted Roman civilization against that civilization. The Reformation was not racial. Even if there were such a physical thing as a 'Teutonic Race' . . . the Reformation shows no coincidence with that

[2] Gieseler, *Church History,* vol. IV, p. 67, note 94; see Chapter III of this book.

[3] "The Christian Constitution of States"; Ryan and Millar, *The State and the Church* p. 12.

race . . . the common factor has been, and is, reaction against the traditions of Europe. . . . The grand effect of the Reformation was the isolation of the soul . . . the Reformation separated certain districts of our civilization from the general tradition of the whole." [4]

The Thirty Years' War made the consequences of the Reformation permanent. Since then Catholicism has been "Latin, not European; and as the Latinizing process has become more acute, even the remains of the older freedom have been extracted. . . . The continuity between the Catholicism of the thirteenth century and that of the twentieth century is exterior—a thing of ritual, polity, and formula; the spiritual kinship of the great figures of the Middle Ages follows other and larger lines." [5]

Six characteristics of the new age are listed for criticism by a Catholic writer: "1. The rapid extension of physical science and with it of every form of acquaintance of demonstrable and measurable things; 2. The rise, chiefly in the new Protestant part of Europe but spreading thence in part to the Catholic of what we call today, 'Capitalism', that is, the possession of the means of production by the few and their exploitation of the many; 3. The corruption of

[4] Hilaire Belloc, *Europe and the Faith,* pp. 229, 248 f.

[5] Fawkes in Hastings' Encyclopedia of Religion and Ethics, vol. IX, p. 624.

the principle of authority until it was confused with mere force; 4. The general, though not universal, growth of total wealth with the growth of physical knowledge; 5. The ever-widening effect of skepticism, which, whether masked under traditional forms or no, was from the beginning a spirit of complete negation and led at last to the questioning not only of many human institutions, but of the very forms of thought and of the mathematical truths; 6. With all these of course we have had a universal mark—the progressive extension of despair." [6]

The newer science, involving generalizations based on collected data, observation of nature's processes, and the recording of "earlier and later stages of the same condition," has woefully damaged medieval guessing. The old cosmogonies, traditional views, and static universe have been destroyed. Universal and infinite activity, variation, fixed laws, uniformity, definite formulas, cause and effect, and "becoming" have replaced them. Conclusions arrived at twenty-five years ago are out of date. Only archeological interest attaches to many of the dogmas of yesterday. When the lens grinder of Delft, peering through his crude microscope, beheld microbes, the modern scientific method and point of view were assured. The "new theory of atoms amounts almost to a new con-

[6] Belloc, *op. cit.*, p. 250.

ception of the universe" with chemical elements regarded as the "outcome of inorganic evolution," with physiology transformed through hormones, "the chemical messengers of ductless glands," with behaviorism and animal microbes, and with what not.[1]

The few stars that Abraham went out to count have turned out to be hundreds of millions. The life of a star is a matter of billions and trillions of years. Instead of being the center of the universe, the earth is "fairly well out towards the side. The center lies in the general direction of Sagittarius." Cluster M.13 contains at least 40,000 separate suns and is some 36,186 light years away, while N.G.C. 6229 is 141,810,000 light years away. Things occurring there today can become known to us only hundreds of millions of years hence. It seems that we can never catch up with the stellar universe. Beta, or Rigel, in Orion has a mass "thirty times that of the sun, while its brightness is 13,500 times greater. . . . All the conspicuous stars in Orion are remote and very brilliant objects. They have undoubtedly been shining for hundreds of millions of years, and their future duration as light-givers, before they finally cool off to the point of extinction, will probably run into thousands of millions of years. . . . Were you to point to one minute star of the Milky Way in a

[1] J. Arthur Thomson, *The Outline of Science*, vol. I, p. 1 f.

photograph, in all probability it would equal our Sun in brightness and size, that is, its diameter would be about one million miles, and its mass two sextillion tons, that is, 2 with 36 ciphers annexed." [8] The gods no longer dwell on Mount Olympus or talk to mortals on Mount Sinai.

The "indivisible atom" is built up from a nucleus surrounded by electrons. "The proton in a neutron of hydrogen gas is 1800 times heavier than the electron and is one ten-quadrillionth of an inch in diameter. One cubic inch packed solidly with neutrons would weigh sixty million tons"! The cosmic rays of Dr. Millikan "can penetrate a wall of lead seventeen feet thick, while the most penetrative X-rays are stopped by one-half inch of lead. They are so short that it would take a billion or more to equal the thickness of a piece of paper. They have a frequency 100,000,000 times that of ordinary light, and 25,000,000,000,000,000 times that of radio waves. There is no power in the laboratory great enough to produce them; not even lightning generates these waves. . . . 'The cosmic rays are signals of the continual rebirth of the universe. They are the physical proof that oxygen, silicon and iron, extremely common here on earth, and helium, extremely abundant in the heavens,

[8] Read C. Whyte, *The Constellations and their History,* pp. 271, 262, 259, 270, etc.

are actually being synthesized out of the very elements of matter, the positive and negative electrons.'" [9] At these conclusions of the newer physics, St. Thomas Aquinas would have laughed.

Man created by fiat on the sixth day is at present assigned a direct ancestry reaching back to the Middle Pliocene and a remote ancestry covering the unthinkable span of years between the moment when the aquatic worm decided he would swim away and would not let the echinoderms, molluscs and crustaceans devour him and "Hesperopithecus." [10]

Evolution has been defined as "an integration of matter and concomitant dissipation of motion; during which the matter passes from an indefinite, incoherent homogeneity to a definite, coherent heterogeneity, and during which the retained motion undergoes a parallel transformation." [11] That may be a little vague, but this is perfectly clear: "The idea of Evolution has influenced all the sciences, forcing us to think of everything as with a history behind it. . . . The solar system, the earth, the mountain ranges, and the great deeps, the rocks and the crystals, the plants and the animals, man himself and his social institutions—all must be seen as the outcome of a long process of becoming. . . . No idea has been so powerful a tool

[9] *Review of Reviews,* July, 1928, p. 100 f.
[10] Osborn, *Science,* May 20, 1927.
[11] Herbert Spencer, *First Principles,* Pt. II, chap. 17, p. 396.

in the fashioning of new knowledge as this simple but profound idea of evolution, that the present is the child of the past and the parent of the future. . . . It is the characteristic of modern science that the whole world is seen to be more vital than before. Everywhere there has been a passage from the static to the dynamic." [12]

Since religion cannot destroy science, and science cannot destroy religion, they must learn how to appreciate each other. Religion has always met tragic defeat when it has attempted to impose the dogmas of the past upon the defined, analyzed, and classified data of science. "The duty and service of science would seem to lie in scientific men bringing their ideal of life, their standards, their vision, their outlook, and their methods to organize the great machine their inventions have created. You cannot have the world half scientific and the other half nothing of the sort." [13]

Science has created a new world. The historical method of studying the Bible has blasted both Catholic and Protestant "certainties." At least a few persons know that no original copy of any book of either the Old Testament or the New Testament survives. Of existing Hebrew or Greek or Latin manuscripts,

[12] J. Arthur Thomson, *The Outline of Science,* vol. I, p. 1.
[13] H. G. Wells, *Sanderson of Oundle.*

no two agree perfectly. A text kept pure in transmission exists only in section VIII of chapter I of the Westminster Confession of Faith and its descendants. The original text of the Bible, if at all recoverable, could be obtained only by the employment of exceedingly critical processes. The materials of the Bible are historically conditioned. There are disagreements in the Bible which may be resolved only by acknowledging its strata. Sober Biblical study of today does not claim to be dealing with the *ipsissima verba* of Jeremiah. No manuscript has escaped every error of eye, ear, hand. Passages like Mark 16:9-20; John 1:18, 5:1, 3, 7:53ff; Acts 8:37, 11:20, 15:20; Ephesians 1:1, I John 5:7 according to the Authorized Version, to mention a few, remind us of the frailty of the ancient scribe. The unique vocabulary of the New Testament with its numerous unaccounted for words has become the ordinary speech of the people of the Mediterranean world. Even "gospel" and "anathema" were current expressions before the time of Jesus.

The various books of the Bible have been rather exactly dated. More than that, the process by which they were finally collected into one volume is no longer a mystery. Since more than a millennium passed ere the books of the Bible were composed, and more than seven centuries and a half ere the

books of the Old Testament were finally constituted into a sacred list, and from two to four centuries ere there was something like general agreement regarding all the books to be included in the New Testament, the problem of "inspiration" has entered a new phase. Now that the long and hesitating process which finally resulted in the establishment of a sacred list of Old Testament books and New Testament books is known, "selection" has become a meaningful word in the Christian vocabulary.

The historical method is from day to day piling up more and more verified knowledge. It cross-examines all the testimony of the past. It insists upon eliciting the truth. It "takes the facts of history and learns from them what the Bible is." It scrutinizes documents. It studies context. It examines the original environment. It raises the comparative question. It fears no anathema. Its work is done only when after painstaking scientific research it has ascertained just what occurred when Daniel was written or Matthew 5 spoken. The different writers of the New Testament approach the problems of religion in different ways. The gospels are reminiscences of the life and teachings of Jesus. They contain many lacunæ. No exact system of theology can be extracted from them. Jesus' view is no longer identified with that of his earlier interpreters. The gos-

pel of Jesus is sharply discriminated from the gospel concerning Jesus.

The historical method of studying the Bible has not merely produced a new Bible but has compelled the sincere and informed Christian utterly to change his attitude toward inherited dogmas concerning it.

The relativity of Christianity is also an admission of the world that is. The four centuries of silence between Malachi and Jesus have become vocal with several books of the Old Testament such as Nehemiah, Ezra, Ruth, Joel, Chronicles, Esther, Song of Songs, Proverbs, Jonah, Ecclesiastes, Daniel, Zechariah, the Psalter, with the Apocrypha, for example, Ecclesiasticus, Tobit, Judith, Wisdom of Solomon, I Maccabees, II Maccabees, with the Pseudepigrapha such as the Letter of Aristeas, Book of Jubilees, Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs. The dependence of the New Testament writings upon these books is easily demonstrable. Christianity is indeed a daughter of Judaism. And Hellenism both indirectly and directly profoundly modified Christianity. Far from being hopelessly corrupt, utterly pleasure-bent, morally decadent, and economically and politically in process of disintegration, the Græco-Roman world of the time of Jesus and of Paul was a vast religious melting pot. Religion was the concern not only of the state but also of the individual. There were many

interpretations of salvation. But Christianity was in contact with all of them. Paganism profoundly influenced Christianity. In coming to supremacy in the Western world, Christianity was modified by the mystery religions, by the religious philosophies such as Stoicism and Neo-Platonism, by Græco-Roman folklore, and by emperor worship. Neo-Platonism, for example, resembled Christianity in its asceticism, mysticism, and mystic exercises. Unless one is in the area of the resurrection of the flesh, the incarnation, or the creation of the world, it is difficult to discern what is Christian and what is Neo-Platonic. The writings assigned to Dionysius the Areopagite were written by a Neo-Platonist but passed for Christian writings until the modern age. Synesius while still a Neo-Platonist could be elected bishop of Ptolemais.

The law of environmental modification, then, was not in abeyance in case of Christianity. Christian churches were sometimes built where Gentile temples had stood, absorbing elements of the earlier worship. Ancient rites were transmitted to Christianity coloring both Christian theory and practice. In many an innocent custom of the present time there lurks the motif of the long ago. Fasts, processions, the tonsure, the mysteries of the mass, the *mater dolorosa,* the renunciation of the devil, exorcism, rites of bap-

tism, Easter, Christmas, Valentine's Day, All Souls' Day, Rogation Days, the rosary, relics, charms, amulets, and various aspects of Christian symbolism have extra-Christian associations.

The Christian apologists of the second century, men like Justin the Martyr, Athenagoras, Aristides, Melito, by employing Greek rhetoric, dialectic, and philosophy transformed the gospel into a philosophy and naturalized Greek thought in Christianity. Augustine reached Christianity by way of Manichæism and Neo-Platonism. Spanish Jews made Arabian commentaries on Aristotle available for Christians early in the thirteenth century. The Physics and Metaphysics of Aristotle proscribed by the church as late as 1215, became the source book of scholasticism. Dr. Angelicus Thomas Aquinas discovered much of value in Aristotle. Hence Aristotle is being taught in the seminaries of Roman Catholicism in the twentieth century. Indeed, the "great pagan" has been described as the "forerunner of Christ in natural things as John the Baptist was in matters of grace"!

This Christian appropriation from its environment has continued without interruption to the present moment. Of course an age acquainted with these facts thinks twice before claiming that Christianity is always and everywhere unique.

That authority has descended from the throne of the Western world is also true. Modern man knows that the "soul has that measureless pride which consists in never acknowledging any lessons but its own." Religious control began to disintegrate at the period of the Renaissance and Reformation. Democratic Christianity, religious toleration and liberty, historical criticism and natural science are producing intellectual emancipation from both church and dogma. Authority involves the "acceptance of an alien judgment." Hence the modern world has rebelled against the external authority of the anathema, interdict, excommunication, inquisition, index, infallibility, and censorship.

In his brilliant book upon *Religions of Authority and the Religion of the Spirit,* Sabatier has for all time made the essential distinctions between earlier authoritarianism and modern attitude. An outline of his argument is here presented. "Authority is the right of the species over the individual, autonomy is the right of the individual with regard to the species. Authority, then, has its roots in the organic conditions of the life of the species, and its end in the formation of the individual. This essentially pedagogical mission at once justifies and limits it. Like every good teacher, authority should labor to render itself useless. Authority which is purely ex-

terior is neither reasonable nor disinterested. To reconcile the autonomy of the citizen with the necessities of the social order: this is the political problem. To conciliate the autonomy of labor with the necessities of the industrial order: this is the economic problem. To reconcile the rights of the moral personality of a woman or a child with the existence and the unity necessary to a family, this above all others, is the social problem. To reconcile the autonomy of thought with the indefeasible laws of the moral consciousness, scientific freedom with faith in the God who is spirit: this is the religious and moral problem. An established authority, however great its antiquity or its power, never carries its justification in itself. It must show itself reasonable to the awakened reason which demands its credentials. By that fact it has been changed. Authority can maintain itself only by becoming more moral; by placing its supporting point always less apart from man, always more essentially within man himself. Authority in its true conception, is, and can be no other than relative. Jesus invoked no external sanction; he not only did not shelter himself behind the authority of Moses (but demanded that men judge for themselves what is right). A religion of authority gives rise to a scholastic theology; by the same necessity the religion of the Spirit seeks to find form and expression in a theology which is in-

creasingly scientific. The Catholic church is obliged to have a science apart, separate universities, just as it separates the clergy from the laity and religious society from civil. This method of authority so entirely isolated Catholic theology from the general scientific movement that it is futile to enter into discussion with it, and generally it is set aside by mere pretention." [14]

Any religion that desires the enthusiastic support of the modern mind must become less and less dogmatic and more and more a way of life. It is not Christian to "dangle little spotless babies over a Christian font but to remain dumb as an oyster to conditions that ruin children faster than the church can baptize them." It is not consistent to write "intimate personal devotional statements on one page of your diary and the account of the sale of your slave boy on the next." The understanding of the causes of disease and poverty are of far greater significance than charity and relief. Religion as service, character, enlightened spiritual, ethical, and social living, characterized by more light and less heat is the goal of the world that is.

In the world that was, the papacy was autocratic and powerful, deposing and reinstating bishops,

[14] A. Sabatier, *Religions of Authority and the Religion of the Spirit,* various pages in Introduction and pp. 285, 342, 346.

crowning emperors, presiding in the person of his representative over the bishops in council, annulling the decrees of anyone, not to be judged by anyone, absolving subjects from their oath of fidelity to "wicked" rulers, collecting annual rents from kings and kingdoms, giving Ireland away, keeping Henry IV "barefoot and clad only in wretched woolen garments" in the snows of Canossa for three days, exercising temporal sovereignty. In the world that is, the "papacy is a fragment of the Middle Ages surviving in a later generation; and this is its refutation. For life is a stream; and, in religion as elsewhere, a return to the past is impossible; the past is a stage in the process that has been definitely left behind." [15] As a hen mothering ducks who have found the pond is needlessly anxious over her brood, so the modern papacy has been busy protecting a happy world against the "sophisms" of the modern world, such as "individuals may form their own personal judgments in religion" or "each man's conscience is his sole and all sufficing guide."

Yes, the world that is has banished to some backward planet the ancient theory of state and church. The *Unam Sanctam* Bull of Pope Boniface VIII resembles in this twentieth century a lobster on ice.

[15] Hastings' Encyclopedia of Religion and Ethics, vol. IX, p. 628.

Even within Catholicism the one comprehensive society with the pope "not to be judged by men" at its head has dissolved into the two perfect societies, the church and the state, of the encyclical of Pope Leo XIII. The world that is takes it for granted that "all political power is inherent in the people, and all free governments are founded on their authority and instituted for their benefit." The Declaration of Independence was signed in 1776. The centennial state, Colorado, adopted a bill of rights in 1876 in which it is written, "all political power is vested in and derived from the people: all government, of right, originates from the people, is founded upon their will only, and is instituted solely for the good of the whole." That "government rests upon the consent of the governed" is an American axiom which the twentieth century papacy might learn to accept without further debate rather than to continue to affirm "nor can one hope for happier results either for religion or for civil government from the wishes of those who desire that the church be separated from the state, and the concord between the secular and ecclesiastical authority be dissolved." [16]

Is religious freedom in danger? Let Woodrow Wilson answer the question. "Our liberties are safe

[16] Pope Gregory XVI, approvingly quoted by Pope Leo XIII, Ryan and Millar, *The State and the Church,* p. 17.

until the memories and experiences of the past are blotted out and the Mayflower with its band of pilgrims forgotten; until our public school system has fallen into decay and the nation into ignorance; until legislators have resigned their functions to ecclesiastical powers and their prerogatives to priests." [17] We may add—until the Constitution of the United States and the constitution of each and every state of the American union are nullified; until modern personalism surrenders to medieval authoritarianism; until modern scientific method and theory abdicate; until the developmental hypothesis is set aside; until the modern environment becomes medieval and ancient once more; until millions of devoted and patriotic Americans of every type of religion unlearn their oath of allegiance; until the world that now is has by some magic cataclysm been resolved into the world that has forever vanished. And if all this could come to pass, primeval chaos would again reign.

[17] *The Public Papers of Woodrow Wilson,* vol. I, p. 62.

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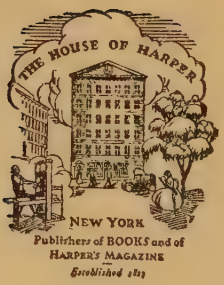
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